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The Week

THE selection of Dwight Morrow as Ambassador to Mexico means that Mr. Morrow is doing a favor to his friend, the President, and not the other way around. Representing the United States in our neighboring republic is a difficult, thankless task. Despite Mr. Coolidge's friendly words at the United Press banquet last spring, and the absence of incidents since that time, the essential dispute between the two countries has not been adjusted. The United States still insists that the legislation enacted to carry out Article 17 of the Mexican Constitution is confiscatory of American property; the Calles government says it is not. The Mexican Supreme Court may settle the point by handing down a decision which supports the American contention; or Mexico may yield to the threat of superior force and indefinitely postpone execution of her laws. But Mexico is not likely to recede, and, no matter whether she does or does not, the life of the American Ambassador in Mexico City is not likely to be a bed of roses. It is all the more to Mr. Morrow's credit that he begins a public career by assuming the burden of so many past mistakes and of such an intrinsically difficult task.

IN our opinion, President Coolidge's appointment of Mr. Morrow is clear evidence of the intention of the administration to negotiate a settlement of the dispute which will be satisfactory to American business interests but which will not involve a collision with the Mexican government. In fact, Mr. Morrow would hardly have accepted the office unless he cherished, with reason, some such expectation. He would certainly not permit himself to be the personal instrument of a policy which involved the danger of war with Mexico. Nor would he have embroiled himself in the controversy unless he saw the possibility of negotiating an adjustment. His previous connection with J. P. Morgan and Company is, in this respect, a qualification for the office rather than the reverse. For, as we understand it, J. P. Morgan and Company have not sympathized with those American business interests which adopted an irreconcilable attitude. There have always been two parties among the oil operators, one of which was ready to negotiate and the other of which was not. In the past, the State Department has supported the second of these parties. Mr. Morrow's appointment is, we believe, an indication that, in the future, it will support the first. In this respect, Mr. Morrow is, of course, a vast improvement on his predecessor and, indeed, upon any of the men connected with the diplomatic service whose names were mentioned for the appointment. He is a man of exceptional ability, of unquestionable disinterestedness and of generous human sympathies. His appointment will, we hope, begin a long and a prosperous public career.

GOVERNOR Smith's chances for the Democratic nomination continue to improve. The strength which he has recently developed in some of the far western states is a discouraging setback for his "dry" and "progressive" opponents. They will claim and receive a good deal of publicity, but they cannot devise any answer to the argument that the nomination of a dry Democratic progressive would subject the party, after a meaningless campaign, to an inevitable and a crushing defeat. In 1924 the nomination of Senator Walsh would have had a

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genuinely healing effect on the dissensions in the Democracy and might have resulted in the withdrawal of La Follette. But in 1928 Senator Walsh would share Al Smith's worst weakness as a candidate without enjoying any of his strength. No! The Democratic party needs for its resurrection after the deserved defeat of 1924 and its recent record in Congress a political wonder-worker; and Governor Smith is the only member of the party who can possibly play the part.

UNFORTUNATELY, however, it is not a particularly desirable part to play. No one knows better than Governor Smith himself that a political leader may be a wonder-worker in Judea and a wandering Jew in Rome. We should not be surprised to see him follow the example of President Coolidge and find some excuse for withdrawing. He is in the position of the frontiersman who started out to hunt a grizzly bear. When the hunter returned without the bear, they asked him if he had lost the trail. "No," he answered, "the tracks were getting too dern fresh." The nearer a level-headed man like Governor Smith approaches the Democratic nomination, the more unattractive it must look. He must know that the opposition to his nomination is disappearing only because his party as a national organization is lacking both in brains and guts. They will nominate him in the desperate hope that he can personally compensate for their increasing insignificance in national politics. But while he conceivably may win the election, it is a forlorn chance; and if transferred to Washington, he could succeed as President only by driving a wedge into the party which is appealing to him for salvation. One is tempted to anticipate that the reality of his political personality would, if he were a candidate, raise the standard of reality in national politics. So it may, but there are no indications of it as yet. His party, in consenting to his nomination, is assuming that, if nominated, he will not press the only national issue with which his career in New York politics is associated. If he agrees, his reality will fade. If he disagrees, as he should, he will render either his nomination or his election wholly impossible.

ONE by one, Indiana's political leaders march to jail. First came D. C. Stephenson, former head of the Ku Klux Klan and boss of the state, who is serving a life sentence for rape and murder. Then followed Governor Warren T. McCray, who was sent from the gubernatorial chair to Atlanta for a ten-year term for swindling, and released the other day through the intervention of powerful friends, at the earliest moment parole was legally possible. Now Mayor John L. Duvall of Indianapolis has been found guilty of violating the Corrupt Practices Act, and faces thirty days in jail, a thousand-dollar fine, and debarment from office for four years. Duvall took $12,000 from the Klan paymaster, and offered on the witness stand the ingenious explanation that he accepted the money so that it could not be expended to defeat him in the next campaign. The contempt for public opinion he displayed when he put forth this idiotic story he has just exhibited again. He has made his wife City Controller, so that when he is deposed she will automatically become Mayor. Not even Mrs. Ferguson of Texas has more shamefully betrayed the best interests of her sex than has Mrs. Duvall in conniving at this bit of political skullduggery.

WILL Mr. Roy A. Young, newly appointed to succeed Mr. Crissinger as Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, favor the view of his predecessor that the Board should exercise central control over the rediscount rates of the reserve banks, or that of the Governor of the Chicago bank, that the local reserve bank should have final authority? Ordinarily the question is academic, since, as a rule, the several reserve banks agree substantially as to what should be done. Just now, however, the question is of some practical importance, because the New York and other banks lowered their rates, chiefly to accommodate England in her fear of losing gold, and to prevent too much gold from drifting to this country, while Chicago did not lower her rate until ordered to do so, feeling that a reduced rate would give unsound stimulus to an already inflated stock market, and might encourage inflation in other directions. At first it was assumed that Mr. Young would favor local autonomy and a higher rate, since he was Governor of the Minneapolis bank, which followed the lead of Chicago in this matter. Later advices, however, state that he is likely to follow the lead of Governor Strong of New York. Perhaps the question will not arise again in the near future, since, in spite of the reduction in rates, the stock market has recently slumped, and even New York may raise its rate again during the fall, as the international gold situation becomes less acute.

THE aims of the new experimental college at the University of Wisconsin were well set forth by its director, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, at the opening exercises a few days ago.

> Something very human [he said] is coming into existence today. Yesterday, the college was not. Today, it is. This is a sort of birthday. But we want no gifts, save the one supreme gift: the gift of existence. And with this gift—not knowing fully what it means—we are off, together, on our experimental way! . . . .
>
> We are to try to find a liberal education. I call that man liberally educated who is trying, with some success, to understand what is happening to him in the midst of the civilization in which he lives. That is to be our task: we are going to try to understand what is happening to us in the midst of this complex civilization of ours.
>
> But understanding comes of contrast, comparison, analysis. We can best understand, by finding an ade-

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quate basis of contrast. With some misgiving, we have decided to use the civilization of the Greeks for that purpose—not primarily because it was a great civilization, but because it exists, it has content, it is *there!* We are going to study Greek civilization; specifically, the civilization of the Athenian Greeks; and particularly, that period of Athenian civilization when it had reached its highest position, namely, in the age of Pericles. We want you to spend the first three weeks of the year beginning to get a feeling for this Age of Pericles.

And in order that you may do this most effectively, we ask you to do three things. First, to read that great speech of Pericles, which, according to the historian Thucydides, he made at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War, and in which he set forth so eloquently the inner meaning and spirit of Athens. Second, we ask you to begin to get acquainted with the most representative and comprehensive character of Athens in that age, the philosopher of the marketplace, Socrates: the man who so completely expressed the unconscious spirit of the Athenians that when they came to see him and understand him, they could do nothing but put him to death. You will find your best introduction to him in certain of the dialogues of Plato. And finally, we want you to read some of the great plays that were written in Athens in this stirring age. So, with these things to occupy your interest for the first three weeks, off we go together.

This experimental college may or may not succeed; but at least it begins in a way which gives a lift of the heart to those who believe that education should be human, and educators candid.

EQUITY, the organ of the actors' union, reports that in several states attempts are being made to put out of business the traveling "tent-shows." Equity charges that Machiavellian movie men are behind this agitation, seeking thus to smother the last faint glimmerings of competition by the speaking stage. We trust these allegations may prove unfounded, or, if true, that the campaign may be unsuccessful. The tent-show has suffered from association with its two bad cousins, the carnival and the itinerant medicine man; but its own record is honest and honorable, and not without its high spots (did not Sarah Bernhardt tour under canvas?).

THE New Republic, in the issue of September 7, mentioned Governor Fuller's speech in Congress on November 10, 1919, urging the expulsion of Victor Berger, as one in which he demanded "the execution of the whole red scum of Anarchists, Bolsheviks, I. W. W.'s and revolutionaries." The quotation was made from the New York newspapers, and proved to be an exaggeration of Mr. Fuller's remarks. He said, referring to Mr. Berger's description of the action against him as "a crucifixion," that "it was a crucifixion of disloyalty, the nailing of sedition to the cross of free government, where the whole brood of anarchists, Bolshevists, and I. W. W.'s and revolutionaries may see and read a solemn warning." A correspondent properly makes the point that the difference is that between a warning and a massacre. The fact, however, that Governor Fuller declared that Victor Berger "does not merit the protection of the laws which he flouts," is one which casts light directly on his attitude toward Sacco and Vanzetti. Since he decided to send these men to death, he has constantly represented his action as a defense of society. We repeat our conviction that Governor Fuller's attitude "constitutes a danger to our institutions far greater than any conceivable in the efforts of Sacco, Vanzetti and their associates."

CONSOLIDATION of the United Gas Improvement Company with the Philadelphia Electric, hailed as a step in a great super-power combination of holding companies on the Atlantic Seaboard, is merely a major incident in a continual series of minor consolidations and purchases which show that the power interests are making hay while the sun shines. To buy a local company, to recapitalize it at a much higher value on the basis of "cost of reproduction," and then to introduce economies of operation, is one of the quickest and surest ways of turning a profit now known. Even lay investors on the stock market are allowed to share in these great gains. Incidentally, the process deprives the power consumers of much of the saving due to the great technical advances of recent years, just as if the power companies were industrial monopolies instead of utilities supposed to make only a "fair return." The situation is so anomalous logically that the commissions and courts may, some time in the future, decisively reject the reproduction-value theory. But by that time the combinations will have been made and the promoters will have salted away their profits.

THOSE who expect the stock market to be an accurate barometer of future business conditions have been reckoning without their host during the past few months. While production and sales have been declining, shares have been booming. Though there has been a marked recession in the past few days, nobody can tell whether this will continue. The fact is that, with low interest rates and almost unlimited credit to draw upon, large pools and speculators can finance almost any sort of stock speculations they please, temporarily, at least, independent of general business conditions. It has often been assumed that the abundance of credit which makes possible a stock-market boom also will lead, almost automatically, to expansion in industry and trade, but recent experience shows that this is far too simple a view of the business cycle. The most that can safely be said is that, as long as we have an ample basis of credit, no financial panic is likely; but industrial earnings and production may decline considerably without many large failures and foreclosures.

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Security on Land and Sea

As a result of the failure of the several disarmament conferences and the aggressive discontent of its smaller European members, the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations gathered together this fall at Geneva under a cloud. The deliberations of the past few weeks have not healed the dissensions or dissipated the cloud, but they have apparently done something to improve the morale of the League. They demonstrated the intense earnestness with which many of the delegates from many of the participating governments are tackling the primary problem of the League, which is that of abating the threat of a renewal of war in Europe. It will, of course, need more than sincerity to deal successfully with the bristling two-fold problem of security and disarmament, but it is encouraging to witness the radical nature of the proposals which many members of the League are now willing seriously to consider in the interest of pacification.

The difficulties of the problem are staggering in their complexity and enormity. The League seems unable to limit armaments because of the ghost of insecurity, and it cannot organize security because of the threatening nature of existing armaments. The smaller states, recognizing their own insecurity in a Europe which is composed of so many larger, heavily armed and hostile states, are pressing for a drastic limitation of armaments. The larger states (Germany excepted), on the other hand, will not tamper with the armaments which they consider essential to their security, and demand moral resignation to the existing territorial status as a condition of any movement toward disarming. But how can nations which are suspicious of one another's designs or covetous of one another's territory morally disarm? The only method suggested is that of outlawing war by means of a pledge to combine against an aggressor, the aggressor being defined as a state which, when engaged in a dispute, refuses arbitration. Arbitration is, however, in the absence of any recognized body of international law, necessarily arbitrary. The government of Great Britain, not unreasonably, objects to participating in any such method of cutting the knot. It is afraid to assume the responsibility of placing all its resources behind a contract whose tendency would be to hang the peace of Europe upon the doubtful peg of a reënforced legal consecration of the existing territorial status.

So far as one can judge from a distance, they did not make much headway at Geneva in escaping from this dilemma. There is a disposition to impute the blame to this power or that, and particularly to Great Britain. By its attitude toward the protocol, the British government seems to have invited, in a somewhat milder form, the same sort of criticism which the United States incurred when it backed away from the League of Nations. There is, undoubtedly, a certain analogy between the two cases. The two English-speaking nations both object to assuming in Europe responsibilities indistinguishable from those of a continental power. The United States will not assume any at all, except as the result of special and carefully limited agreements. The British nation has committed itself, both at Geneva and Locarno, to great and burdensome general pledges, but it will not place the military and naval strength of the British Empire unconditionally at the service of a continental court which would be obliged to dispense international justice without the help of any accepted body of law except existing precedents and treaties. Americans should be the last people in the world not to understand this scruple. The British government is not only afraid that it might, as the result of signing the protocol, be involved in a collision with the United States, but it realizes that its naval control of European waters would, in the event of a legalized war against a nation which the Court had declared to be an aggressor, force upon it the chief responsibility for executing some partisan or dubious decision.

The fact is that the problem of security, as it presents itself to the states of continental Europe, is sharply distinguished from the problem of security as it presents itself to island states or states on other continents. Europe is composed of a few large and powerful peoples, about as many peoples of intermediate strength and a greater number of small peoples who, although they inhabit strategically important territory, are, in a military sense, insignificant and defenseless. All these peoples except the vanquished in the late War are armed up to the limit of their resources. They are also, either in spite of these armaments or because thereof, in the event of another war, profoundly insecure. The Dutch, the Belgians, the Swiss, the Germans, the Austrians, the Hungarians and the Bulgars feel insecure, because they are incapable of defending their frontiers against their neighbors. The Poles, the Czechs, the Rumanians and the Jugoslavs feel insecure, because in their existing form they came into existence as the result of war, and the only sanction for their present boundaries is either preponderant force or some trustworthy international system which guarantees treaties which are the children of force. These intermediate states, as well as the strongest military power on the Continent, France, are in favor of seeking security by some joint international pledge similar to the protocol, but they are not willing to placate the grievances of their neighbors and to sanctify the new order by associating it with concessions. Realizing, as they do, however, the insecurity of a system which proposes to deal with real grievances by defining as culpable aggression any effective attempt to remedy them, they are always seeking to add to the force which they themselves can exert some decisive increment of power from outside the Continent. Naturally the governments of these other peoples, such as the British

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Dominions, the United States and Great Britain, object to the pledging of their resources for the support of political interests or extensions of territory of which they do not approve. From their point of view, the signing of the protocol is equivalent to acquiring an insecurity which is not properly theirs.

If there is to be any organization of international security which will neutralize the danger of war in Europe, the European governments will have to begin by recognizing the uniqueness of the problem as it exists on their continent and the desirability of fastening on the continental states alone the primary responsibility of dealing with it. It is their job. They will never attain security by asking the United States or the British Empire to supply the force which will guarantee the sanctity of the existing treaties—embodying, as these treaties do, the results of the military supremacy of the victors in the War, rather than any principles of international adjustment. No doubt, they cannot grapple with it except by some joint pledge to outlaw war, as an instrument of both defensible and indefensible political purposes, but in that case they will need to be sure of their ability to prevent the pledge from being violated. They can, of course, seek this assurance by trying to set up an overwhelming federal European police force, but the existence of such a force would in itself constitute a permanent and a fatal threat to security and general confidence. It would be merely an instrument of the alleged legal domination of the Continent by the Little Entente, Poland and France. There is, however, an alternative way. They could associate the pledge to outlaw war with certain rules of territorial and economic adjustment among nations which, in the event of disputes, the Court of Arbitration would be expected to apply impartially. Perhaps the obstacles to the establishment of any such "rule of reason" on continental Europe are insuperable at present, but if it is impossible to associate with the outlawry of war some method of curing general international grievances, then war will continue. In any event, there is only one way to find out whether it is possible or not. Let the maritime nations stand aside and put it up to the continent of Europe to organize international security and justice on its own account, or suffer from the consequences of its inability to neutralize the diverging interests of its peoples. Their interference, for the present, should be limited to a refusal to allow the ocean highways to be used for the benefit of a nation which seeks to accomplish its purpose by an illegal war.

The valid criticism against the policy of the British or the American government toward the organization of security for the continental peoples does not, in our opinion, turn upon their unwillingness to assume unconditional responsibility for such security. It turns rather upon their inability or reluctance to settle their differences about naval power and maritime law and, by settling them, to contribute in their own appropriate and indispensable way to the organization of peace and security throughout the world. It is wholly without excuse that they do not vindicate their freedom from the real and the fearful anxieties of European states whose frontiers are always in danger of being violated, by introducing something like order into their area of common jurisdiction—the high seas. Until the ocean highways are neutralized and internationally ruled, there will be a fatal flaw in any organization of security on land. The United States, Great Britain and Japan began the process of internationalization at Washington in 1921. That is, they divided up the maritime territory of the world and put an end to the possibility of aggressive military operations on a large scale across the oceans. They and the states under their protection have little to fear from predatory invasion. But they have not approached the more fundamental and more difficult problem of the relation between maritime trade during war and the security and welfare of both the belligerent and the neutral nations. Until they place this question on the agenda of their conferences, and consider attentively how they intend to legislate about its disputed and difficult aspects, they will have failed as egregiously as the states of continental Europe to do as much as they may fairly be asked to do by way of organizing international security.

The naval disarmament conference at Geneva was a failure, chiefly because of the limitation of its scope. It dealt exclusively with the tonnage and the armaments of commerce-destroying vessels, and neglected to discuss the rules which should regulate the function or the power during war to destroy commerce. Now that Great Britain is safely protected from invasion (except from the air), she is vulnerable only by an attack on her ocean trade, but, inasmuch as she depends upon this trade for indispensable raw materials and her food supply, she remains to that extent one of the most vulnerable of nations. That is her excuse for insisting on disposing of a sufficient number of cruisers to protect, during war, her merchant vessels in all the seas of the world—to protect them not merely against being swept from any of the trade routes by a superior force, but against the possible serious depredations of occasional raiders like the "Emden." The British people are entitled to a protection of this kind, but it is surely fair to ask them to pay for it by abandoning the right absolutely to annihilate the ocean commerce of a people with whom they themselves are at war. Before any new conference for the limitation of naval armaments is called, the governments of the maritime powers should start an informal discussion of this wholly unregulated question and search out the obstacles to an agreement. If they find that an agreement is possible, they could then plan for another conference about the limitation of naval armaments, to which the major continental European governments should also be in-

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vited. It is of the utmost importance that these discussions should be started soon. The failure of the Geneva Conference has revealed the impossibility of any further limitation of naval armaments until a code of maritime law is drawn up and accepted by the naval powers and the League of Nations. And as soon as it is possible to draw up such a code and secure its adoption, one of the chief obstacles to the limitation of armaments and the organization of security on the continent of Europe will disappear.

A Nation of Foreigners

ANY attempt to track down the true causes of the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy must take us very deep into the American mind and very far abroad in American society. It seems clear that the failure of Messrs. Fuller, Thayer, Stratton, Lowell and Grant to take seriously the human rights of Sacco and Vanzetti was due: first, to the fact that they were anarchists; second, to the fact that they were workmen; and third, to the fact that they were Italians. According to the report of the Governor's Commission, the members of that body found themselves unable to believe that the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti had been influenced by the defendants' radical views; and, however little one may share this belief, it is possible that to the Governor's Commission the radical views of Sacco and Vanzetti were entirely unimportant. They were unimportant because, from the point of view of the members of the Commission, Sacco and Vanzetti were themselves so unimportant that their politics didn't matter. It was all that they could do from where they stood to see Sacco and Vanzetti at all: their opinions were completely out of sight. It was as easy for the Commission to snuff out an Italian fish-peddler and an Italian shoemaker with impunity and without compunction as it was for Vanzetti's patrons to skin the live eels he sold them.

In the course of this controversy, as in the course of so many similar ones, the awful word Americanism has not infrequently been invoked. Americanism is always assumed to represent an ideal which is somehow antagonistic, not merely to radicalism, but also to all those elements in American society which are not, or do not pretend to be, Anglo-Saxon. It is one of the chief weapons of the Ku Klux Klan, who use it against the Jews, the Roman Catholics, the Negroes, or any other racial or religious group which, for economic or other reasons, has come into conflict with the Anglo-Saxons. It is true that the political and social policy of the American republic was formulated at a time when the population was principally British, and by men who were themselves of British stock. These men were reformers and free-thinkers of the eighteenth-century type; they did not foresee modern industry, and they did not foresee the proportions which the racial conflicts, arising from the opportunities provided by America, were eventually to reach. They did not foresee our overwhelmingly commercialized and materialized civilization and our heterogeneous polyglot society. That civilization and that society have, in consequence, long ago lost touch with the ideals of the founders. The principles of Jefferson and Franklin are as ineffective and as remote for present-day America as those of Condorcet and Voltaire. The term Americanism, which might once have signified those principles, is nowadays merely a *cliché* of popular rhetoric used to cover every bigotry, every ignorance, every vulgar ambition and every crime.

All this is sufficiently well known. For intelligent people in America, the slogans of Americanism, 100 percent Americanism and Americanization have, since the War, become phrases which they would be ashamed to use except in jest. But do they realize the bankruptcy of national ideals which these phrases attempt to cover, and are they aware of the extent to which they themselves may share the assumptions upon which these catchwords rest? In how many conversations among educated people, since the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, does one find that even for sensitive and kindly men and women—that is, for people sensitive and kindly in their immediate personal relations—there seems to be taken for granted some sort of social propriety in ignoring, or in treating lightly, the fate of an Italian fish-peddler and an Italian shoemaker. What is assumed is what seems to have been assumed by Judge Thayer and President Lowell—that the United States is to be regarded as a field for Anglo-Saxonized business, and that nothing else is serious. In Boston the original Anglo-Saxons began by snubbing the Irish and refusing to mingle with them, and the Irish, in turn, have taken out on the Italians the injuries which they received at the hands of the Anglo-Saxons. And this is typical of the situation in America, where, in general, it may be said that continual pressure is brought to bear on immigrants to make them ashamed of, and to make them renounce, that original race or nationality.

Yet, if the phrase American ideals is ever to carry any dignity or any sensible meaning again, it is quite plain that it must apply to the program of an experiment, not only democratic, but also international. The United States today is not so much a nation as an international institution. It is the country where, to all intents and purposes, all the inhabitants are immigrants. This appears overwhelmingly and beyond any possibility of evasion in our contemporary literature. It is through our literature and not through the utterances of either our public officials or our college presidents that the real spirit of the country finds expression; and that literature is perhaps the most polyglot and the most heterogeneous that the world has ever seen. For the literary critic, it constitutes a veritable Tower of Babel and offers many disturbing prob-

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lems; but its social significance is plain: it is the first incoherent attempt to arrive at a common understanding on the part of a society at once denationalized and representative of all nations—a society as different as possible from that which, in the last century, in New England, produced a literature written almost entirely in the English tradition and by men of the English stock.

There are at present in the United States five and a half million Italians—that is, people either of Italian birth or of Italian origin. These Italians, simply by reason of the nationality which they shared with Sacco and Vanzetti, have, by their own efforts, raised the bulk of the fund which financed the Defense Committee and lifted the Sacco-Vanzetti case from its local obscurity into the importance of a national issue. What, then, shall be said of an educated class who will not take the Italians seriously—just as, in other parts of the country, they refuse to take the Negroes or the Japanese seriously? If it is true, as has been suggested, that the United States is an international institution, it is one of the prime duties of educated Americans to adjust themselves to this situation. After all, we have all got to live together; and the proper study of Americans today should be the civilizations and the cultures of all the rest of the world with a view, not merely, as was the fashion in the last century, to enriching one's own Anglo-American sensibility and traveler's knowledge of the world, but especially to the application of what one has learned to that new Europe, as Anatole France called it, which is America. The problem in the United States is not to preserve the predominance of an Anglo-American governing class, or even to preserve inviolate an Anglo-American tradition (admirable as that tradition may have been) in society, politics and culture; but to harmonize and reconcile the various racial and national elements which make up the population and whose conflicts are a large part of our politics. When America shall come to formulate a new set of ideals for herself—which she must do, if she desires to play a serious role in that demoralized western world, where all eyes are now turned toward her—we may be sure that they will have to be stated in terms (if not altogether in spirit) as different from those of the first program of the Republic as our American literature of today is already different from Lowell and Holmes. The situation gives rise to enormously difficult problems and problems for which there seems no precedent. But it is the business of educated Americans, not simply to run away from these problems, as our provincial American snobbery does, but to accept them as they actually are: the evolution of a new civilization from so many diverse strains in America and the shaping of the language of a new culture should be a drama sufficiently absorbing for the most curious and active mind, and sufficiently exacting to call into play the most distinguished abilities.

Congress and Navy Economy

IT would be difficult for any outsider—perhaps even for any insider—to judge whether Rear Admiral Thomas P. Magruder is right in saying that we are "getting a $200,000,000 navy for $300,000,000," as he charges in a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post. If, as is threatened, a congressional investigation of the subject is held, we may possibly get more light. But, irrespective of the detailed merits of the controversy, previous experience with "bureaucracy and red tape" suggests that Congress might well pursue an investigation more deeply into the matter than the Admiral's charges appear to go. It might look into its own responsibility for the waste of public money. It might search for the basic causes of its bad habits in that respect, and find them in a peculiarity of our constitutional form of government—the theoretical separation of the powers of the executive from those of the legislative, the lack of responsibility one to the other.

Conservatism, stupidity, self-interest and susceptibility to influence on the part of administrative officials is, doubtless, a large contributing cause to the wasteful confusion of activities in many of our governmental departments. When complicated by the military habit of mind, such faults are doubly stifling to efficiency. But not all government officials, and not even all army and navy officers, suffer unduly from these faults. At various times and in important positions, the government has commanded the services of able and alert executives, of experts in scientific management. Exhaustive researches have pointed out how large economies might be made by consolidation and elimination of bureaus, shifting of personnel, cutting of useless paper work. General reorganization of the government departments for the sake of greater efficiency was sponsored as long ago as during Taft's presidency; he strove to make of it a major issue. Discussion of the subject became almost feverish during the War, when so great an expansion jolted the administrative agencies out of their long-established habits, and the President strove, through the Overman bill, to achieve the power to re-arrange the executive functions in minor details. The drive for economy under the present administration, so thoroughly committed to a business-like point of view and commanding such loyal support from business executives, ought certainly to have led to general reorganization, if it had been possible. Yet, in all this time, comparatively little has been accomplished. Admiral Magruder is merely the latest in a long line of critics, and he is likely to be succeeded by many others.

Why has so little advance been made? Chiefly because the administrative officers in charge—even the Cabinet officials or the President himself—have not much legal power to reorganize departments

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or adjust their finances. Congress, deprived of any direct authority over the President or the Cabinet officials, impotent to discharge them, and dependent for political strength largely on the presidential patronage in appointments, yet retains one powerful toe-hold—control of the purse-strings and power to set up in any conceivable detail the organization of the executive agencies. This power it jealously guards, and exercises as if a body of several hundred men were a single executive of a small factory who knew exactly how many stenographers are needed in every sub-sub-sub-department. Go over any appropriation bill. You will not find a lump sum devoted to the expenses of any one department or agency, to be used at the discretion of the executive. You will find a minute division of funds—so much for this, so much for that, so much for such and such a navy yard, so much to build so many boats of a certain kind. Administrative officers have no right to change the decrees of Congress in this respect. If a surplus is left over after carrying out any single specified duty or function, it must be returned to the United States Treasury, not used for any other purpose, specified or unspecified. If a deficit arises in any bureau, it must be met by a provision in a deficiency appropriation bill, to be passed by Congress.

How different the situation, therefore, of the department executives from that of the manager of a business undertaking! The latter may draw upon his gross receipts for any expenses whatever, he may be guided by accounting, by engineering advice, by common sense, in the specification of his force and the allotment of funds. Suppose the New York Central Railroad had a board of directors consisting of a thousand members, meeting twice a year, which insisted upon telling the President in much detail how his executive and operating forces should be organized, how much money should be used in buying how many engines, how much in rails, how much in maintenance, how much at each shop point, etc., etc. Would you expect the railroad to be efficient? Would you feel justified in criticizing its management if it were not?

Nothing is more unlikely, however, than that Congress can be easily induced to abandon this practice. In the first place, the political strength of the individual members is too dependent on the jobs and favors which can be passed out through such detailed control. Some inconsiderate executive, if given the power, might discharge a clerk from the home town, or close down the navy yard on which the prosperity of an important constituency depends. This practical interest is usually concealed in high-sounding language, which is not, however, without its own validity. The Constitution gave Congress power over the purse-strings. It did so for a reason. An unchecked executive might become too careless with the people's money, might build up its own army of retainers. If Congress should give up its power to make or refuse appropriations in some detail, it might become a mere rubber stamp for an overweening President.

So it happens that a large part of our bureaucratic inefficiency is the price we pay for the constitutional "separation of the powers," so dear to the hearts of political theorists. If we had a parliamentary system, if the responsible executive, instead of being elected by an independent vote of the people for a definite term, were a Prime Minister dependent for his power on a working majority in the legislature, that legislature could safely grant him more discretion in details, knowing that it could hold him accountable on the whole. Patronage would not, of course, be abolished, but, in the ever-present conflict between the interest of the general and the interest of the particular, more weight could be thrown on the side of the general interest.

It would be futile to agitate for so fundamental a constitutional change as is thus suggested, but that does not mean that the situation is hopeless. Progress may be made, and from time to time is made, by a growing interest in, and understanding of, efficient administration, which even penetrates Congress itself. The budget system, compromise that it is, still is an advance toward a more unified view of appropriations. It is possible that, some time, as has been suggested by Woodrow Wilson and others, Cabinet Secretaries may be called before Congress to give regular accountings of their administrations, and thus Congress may informally achieve a general control over the executive not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. A more immediate way out is found in the device already resorted to, in several cases where the object to be achieved was generally admitted to be too important to be compromised by political ineptitude, as well as unsuited to the bureaucratic form of administration. The government-owned corporation, created to accomplish a specific object, and governed, as business corporations are, by a board of directors, responsible generally to the President and Congress, has been called upon increasingly for new public enterprises. Bureaucracy and red tape, where they fail, are not inseparable from governmental activity.

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The Human Potential in the Politics of the Pacific

I

LAST summer there assembled in Honolulu a body which called itself the Institute of Pacific Relations. It consisted of delegations from many of the countries which inhabit the shores of the Pacific Ocean or exercise power upon its waters. There were representatives present from China, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, Korea, the Philippines, Canada, Great Britain and the United States.* I have called them representatives, but the representation was wholly unofficial. The delegates were members of national groups who had reason to be interested in the economics and politics of the Pacific and hoped by study and conference to increase their insight into the conditions of human life and intercourse throughout that vast area. The organizers of the Conference had planned to assemble a body of men and women who belonged to all the nations of the Pacific and who took part in most of the essential activities of their respective communities, but they did not wholly succeed. There was a preponderance of intellectuals and reformers and a scarcity of men or women of affairs. But they were an unusually able, well informed and disinterested lot of people, who brought more candor and fewer ulterior purposes to a discussion of the politics of the Pacific than would any body whose members had been more formally and officially chosen.

With the process, the story and the results of the Conference, I do not propose, except incidentally, to deal. They are of interest and value chiefly to the people who participated in the gathering, and it is only a pallid or perverted version of them which can be passed on to an absent spectator. In fact, I doubt the possibility of fairly summarizing the proceedings of such a miscellaneous, informal, discursive and loosely-organized body, and my personal interpretation of what took place could not be properly checked save by somebody else who was also present. But it is possible and worthwhile to call the attention of people who did not attend the Conference, but are interested in its subject matter, to the meaning which the Institute of Pacific Relations came to have for some of the conferees. It seems to be, when you examine it carefully, a new thing in the universe of politics. If such is the case, I should like to distinguish wherein it is new and what the opportunities and the penalties of its novelty may be.

The Institute of Pacific Relations proposes, for the first time, a political function for an exclusively inquisitive and deliberative international parliament which, from a severely practical point of view, may seem to be of doubtful utility. Politics is, of course, chiefly a matter of getting things done. It proceeds by means of legislative and administrative acts, of decisions or, in self-governing communities, of discussions which result in resolutions and decisions. But the Conference of the Pacific Institute, instead of, as is usual with political bodies, acting without sufficient deliberation, deliberates without any attempt to act and without any intention of acting or deciding. It is, if you please, a lily in the farm-yard of politics. It toils not, neither does it spin, in the ordinary sense of endorsing expedients or outlets which may be of comfort to a statesman who is harassed by the exigency of events or puzzled by a conflict of counsel. Its members plumed themselves on its sterility in this respect. They investigated and discussed elaborately and solemnly a multitude of questions; they decided none. They did not pass any resolutions except an explicit one to adjourn and an implicit one to congratulate themselves on their own urbanity and humility.

The Institute believes that it cannot conscientiously and intelligently carry on its work of deliberation and investigation without renouncing the attempt to reach decisions. It is justified in this belief. It does not form a body which is adapted to action or capable thereof. Its members, either as individuals or as collected into national groups, do not represent anything in particular. They do not represent their governments or the policy of their governments. They do not represent any common set of interests, activities, convictions, traditions or culture. They are not united by any recognized legal economic responsibilities. Having no meaning or focus as a vehicle of action, they properly avoided the attempt to reach decisions or to pass resolutions which, in the circumstances, would have been equivalent to action. So far as I know, there was no dissent among any members of the Conference against the limitation of its function to that of "study," mutual consultation and research.

On the other hand, there was a difference of opinion among its members as to the meaning of its indecisive activities. Many of them believed or, at least, acted on the belief that, although the Conference did not commit itself to specific decisions or resolutions, its work was preparing the way for

* Invitations had been sent to Mexico, the Soviet Republic and others, but they were ignored.

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specific action by official agencies. They talked a good deal about proposing "constructive solutions" for critical economic and political problems. They assumed that any sprigs of understanding that the Conference gathered during its deliberations might be planted in the popular mind and developed into propaganda for the benefit of particular acts by particular governments. They conceived the Institute as a sort of general counsel for a society of Pacific peoples which an official department of operations would subsequently bring into existence.

This interpretation of the functions of the Institute appears to me doubtful, and, if acted on, may lead it astray. The Institute should, I think, refrain from toiling in order to spin political fabrics even by indirection. Its function is really novel and more radical than these delegates seemed to realize. It is an experiment in the use of the understanding in elucidating and integrating political relationships. If it carries on its work with any success, it may eventually exercise an important influence on the world of affairs in the Pacific, but considering the extent to which, at present, action in politics tends to corrupt understanding, it should, if it is in earnest about exploring its subject matter, avoid any primary concern with the specific exigencies of politics. It is, at bottom, trying to find out whether an experiment in understanding among peoples of a particular area may not, by a beguiling and a discipline of the popular imagination, eventually result in the birth of a new kind of community—a community in which government would be divorced from authority, statecraft from party politics, officialism from prestige, and society from any explicit obligations or compulsions except the obligations of its members somehow to live together. Such is the only kind of community which can be formed, for the present, out of the raw materials of the Pacific area.

II

Let us consider, for a moment, the significance of the selection by the Institute of the Pacific Ocean as an area of profitable political association, consultation and deliberation. Political communities have come into existence, for the most part, through the habitation of adjacent neighborhoods by people who, as the result of having to live together, developed a common language, a common culture and some measure of common allegiance. Large bodies of water have placed obstacles in the way of political association among the peoples who navigated their highways. These obstacles were so considerable that they could be overcome only by prolonged intercourse, by elaborate organization, by an advanced political technique and by a consciousness of common interests and destiny. The Mediterranean was the first of the seas or oceans which served as a means of educative communication among the inhabitants of its shores. It enabled peoples with wholly different economies, cultures and loyalties to exchange products, inventions, methods and ideas, without, in the beginning, entering into political responsibilities one towards another. Classic civilization was, more than anything else, Mediterranean. It could have come into existence only as the result of many kinds of intercourse by water among societies which themselves were local territorial products. But the members of these communities went to sea in ships not only to trade, to colonize and to satisfy their curiosity, but, as they became politically more self-conscious, to plunder and subjugate one another. Classic civilization culminated politically in the Roman Empire, which profited by the previous cosmopolitanism both of Carthage and Magna Græcia. It was a water-made community. Its symbol, the Roman eagle, was, it is true, a bird of prey, but, being a bird, it also symbolized flight and seeing from afar and a dominion which was derived from exploration.

The Roman Empire and classic civilization finally succumbed partly to internal decay and partly to a deluge of invading peoples who traveled in hordes and by land only. The invaders created a new community, Europe by name, whose conscious bond was, in the beginning, religious rather than political, and which continued for centuries to be formed almost entirely by territorial intercourse among a variety of peoples. Prompted both by restlessness and religion, they tried to override their territorial limits by marching against the Mohammedans on their eastern frontiers, but they were thrown back. They could not escape from Europe by a land route. After, however, a thousand years of self-regarding provincialism, which is one result of intercourse with others only or chiefly by land, they did finally escape by sea. Improvements in the art of navigation changed the Atlantic Ocean from an impassable barrier into a water highway which opened up communications with both the east and the west. It served as the water area about which progressive human beings traded, colonized, explored and fought. Modern Europe owes almost as much to the Atlantic as the Roman Empire and classic civilization did to the Mediterranean.

Europe, however, in spite of its Atlantic voyages, has not yet freed itself from the remnants of its ancestral provincialism. Their relations to their neighbors on the Continent formed the conscious political outlook of its peoples and the politics of its governments. When European navigators embarked upon Atlantic voyages, they did so either to get away from Europe or to promote European interests. They occupied the unoccupied territory on the other side of the Atlantic for the founding of European colonies. They exterminated or subjugated the inhabitants of the occupied territories. They conceived the New World as a minor subdivision of the old. This

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attitude towards America, which was an inevitable result of the aboriginal savagery of the new continents, outlasted, however, the conditions out of which it had sprung. Throughout the nineteenth century, although the era of American colonization was over, Europeans still envisaged the Atlantic Ocean as a European area, bounded on the west by certain American tributaries. Europe recognized, of course, the political independence of some of these American communities, but it was recognition with reservations to which Americans subscribed. It was generally, but not too explicitly, assumed that, no matter how explosively Americans asserted the right to govern themselves, they had not achieved equality at the same time as independence. Their peoples were culturally European. Proud as they were of their political autonomy, they agreed with Europeans in acting and thinking as if Europe were the exclusive home of high and mighty politics.

Their cultural colonialism as well as their political and economic immaturity prevented the American communities, the United States included, from presuming to assert themselves in Atlantic affairs in any but a negative way. In so far as the Atlantic Ocean was not a liquid extension of Europe, it was not dominated by any positive political ideas. It was patrolled by the British fleet, whose overlords in London believed the maintenance of the balance of military power in Europe to be the one all-important international political interest. If, now and then, European statesmen allowed the New World on the other side of the Atlantic to enter into their calculations, they invoked it, as Canning did, to restore the balance in the old, or, like Louis Napoleon, to provide an opportunity for an increase of European empire. The retort of the United States was, of course, the Monroe Doctrine, but its proclamation was no more than a defensive reaction. It separated the presumably superior international politics of Europe from the presumably inferior international politics of the Americas. Thus the Atlantic Ocean, while it united the two continents for purposes of trade, divided them for purposes of politics. No European or American political speculator proposed an Institute of Atlantic Relations. From the point of view of the controlling political ideas, such an Institute would have been, at best, a well intentioned absurdity.

The World War brought to an end the efficacy and the authority of European domination in the Atlantic. The United States, when it entered the War as a protest against the interference by the German submarine with the customary highways of trade between America and Europe, intervened, indeed, in the ostensible interest of British sea power, which had been the instrument used for subordinating the politics of the Atlantic to European continental interests, but European statesmen suddenly revolutionized their ideas about the essential nature of European interests and American obligations. Both groups of belligerents insisted on fighting for a victory which was bound to destroy rather than to preserve any balance of military power in Europe. The Allies were victorious, and by annihilating, with the help of the United States, this old and powerful dragon of European politics, they entirely altered the political significance of the Atlantic highway. This result was no part of the war aims of the American people. They had intervened from sympathetic and sentimental motives, which their cultural colonialism had enabled French and British propaganda skilfully to kindle into a conflagration. The policy of emasculating Germany, which was implicit in the knock-out blow of Lloyd George and *la victoire intégrale* of Clemenceau, was more congenial to the average American than Wilson's Fourteen Points. As soon as the danger of defeat for the Allies and the romance of the crusade were over, the Americans immediately felt ill at ease in Europe and far from home. The expeditionary force, in crossing the Atlantic, had violated an alien body of water. America might be a part of Europe, but Europeans had never admitted, nor had Americans imagined, that Europe might be part of America. The tradition of separatism resumed its former authority. The New World, in the person of the United States, withdrew precipitately to its side of the dividing water.

The withdrawal brought upon the American people bitter criticism at home and abroad, and it was, undoubtedly, a cheap and easy way of shifting a responsibility which they had assumed with sufficient solemnity. But it was also an instinctive retreat on their part from an exposed and costly position which they had entered in an excited and perverted moment, without understanding what they were doing. Their discomfiture was clearly a consequence of the failure of European statesmen during the nineteenth century to move in the direction of an international system which envisaged the Atlantic Ocean as a highway of communication among political equals. Yet, in unconditionally withdrawing, the American nation had acted to prolong European pretensions which, although they had not been expressly abandoned, the War had tended to deflate. It was no longer possible to conceive the Atlantic Ocean as a gusty pool of European politics, tempered by the Monroe Doctrine. The Washington Conference subsequently divided power in the Atlantic between Europe, represented by Great Britain, and America, represented by the United States. For the present, the United States insists on preserving this division, but eventually it will have to adjust itself to the assumption of coöperative, even if expressly limited, liabilities in Europe.

It is profoundly significant that the Washington Conference of 1921, which, by dividing sea power between the British Empire and the United States,

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destroyed the physical basis of the traditional conception of the Atlantic Ocean as a liquid extension of Europe, looked in the direction, also, of a new conception of the Pacific. During the nineteenth century, European statesmen had treated the Pacific as a vast and distant, but less troublesome, bay of the Atlantic—an Atlantic minus the Monroe Doctrine. Politics in the western Pacific was either frankly predatory or it was subordinated to the exigencies of a conflict between two groups of powers in Europe which, after 1900, rapidly became increasingly dangerous and tense. British sea power furnished the physical major premise of Far Eastern politics. Early in the twentieth century it employed the Japanese fleet as its local partner, the understanding being that Japan would share in the game of European imperialism and take part in the European effort to transfer to the Far East the methods and interests of European international politics. This Far Eastern system collapsed, of course, with the collapse of its model in the Atlantic. As the result of American pressure, Great Britain abandoned the Japanese alliance, and Japan soon thereafter ceased to pursue a policy in China which imitated the former policies of the European powers and which she could not pursue without the connivance either of the United States or Great Britain. The Washington Conference treated the Pacific, for the first time, as a somewhat independent political and economic area. It even outlined the sketch of a Pacific regional community, which, if it could be realized and developed, would neutralize the Pacific highway as an instrument of predatory politics. As a result partly of the Four Power compact, and partly of the limitations imposed upon the battle fleets of Japan and the United States, it practically excluded from the navigation of the Pacific (except in Chinese waters) vessels which were bound upon errands of political and military aggression—unless Great Britain, Japan and the United States all agreed to the aggression and participated in it.

This beginning of a Pacific society of nations, rudimentary and frail though it was, introduced into maritime politics a novel principle which it applied to the largest, most varied and most important oceanic area in the world. From the beginning of international law, there had been many attempts to neutralize the ocean, but they had not succeeded to any great extent. During the Great War, as during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the oceans were treated as part of the territory of the power which possessed the dominant fleet; and since the League of Nations was formed, it has never presumed to claim jurisdiction even of the European waters and to label them as an international area. The Washington Conference, on the other hand, did, in some measure, internationalize the Pacific. If the waters of that ocean were, by virtue of an international agreement, not in the future to be troubled by ships which were bound on aggressive or predatory errands, its navigation would become, in every respect, an agency of positive human intercourse and understanding. The Pacific would serve as the inviolate highway of a society of nations whose members on its shores would all enjoy some measure of political security, autonomy and equality. No doubt, powerful maritime nations, such as the United States, Japan and Great Britain, would continue to possess legal rights in the territory of Pacific islands and in eastern Asia, which derived from predatory expeditions of the past, and the beneficiaries of these pockets of imperialistic politics would have an interest in contesting the future development of a Pacific society of nations. But these powers, however any one or all of them behave in the future, have consented to the first essential step. The peoples of the Pacific are partially protected in theory against any further aggression, and, in this sense, they are by way of forming a community of political equals which are obligated to consult one another about their common political and economic difficulties and policies.

The Pacific society of nations remains, however, a sketch which may easily be wiped out. It is, in fact, certain to be wiped out unless the Pacific peoples are fascinated by the advantages and the possibilities of the sketch and do something to substantiate it. Their governments are not disposed or qualified to undertake the job. Like all governments, they do not act until they have to act, and, when they act, they are inevitably more preoccupied by their existing legal rights than by revolutionary visions of experimental communities of nations. If, in the meantime, the work of filling in the sketch is to be carried on, unofficial agencies, which will act, not in opposition to existing governments but wholly independent of declared national policies, will have to do it. The Institute of Pacific Relations has elected itself to this position. Its object is to give reality to the vision of the Pacific as an area of positive political association among the inhabitants of its shores, and in this respect it is, as I have said, a political novelty. It is not only attempting to bring into existence a new political community bound together by an internationalized body of water, but it is forced by its own nature to invoke for its purposes a method exclusively of inquiry, study and consultation which heretofore has never been employed successfully in order to create a going political concern.

III

An Institute of this kind has, of course, an obvious justification. If a regional community of Pacific peoples be a desirable international society, and if the governments of the more powerful Pacific nations have, by issuing a self-denying ordinance against aggression, rendered such a community possible, why not anticipate further action

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on the part of these governments in a constructive direction by setting up an international agency, whose business it will be to compare the vision of the new society with the facts of existing political and economic policy and life in the Pacific? Assuming that it includes representatives from all the important peoples of the Pacific and covers in its surveys all their important political and economic activities, such an Institute is peculiarly adapted to explore the idea of such a community, and to comprehend the activities which are helping to make or unmake it. If the Institute summoned periodic conferences to compare and discuss the experience and the inquiries of its national groups, its gatherings would literally play at being parliaments of a Pacific society of nations. They would go through all the motions of a parliament in dealing with these questions, except the costly final motion of reaching or recommending decisions. Thus they would diagnose for the benefit of statesmen, and dramatize for the benefit of public opinion, the conception of the Pacific as the connecting medium of an international community whose parts could not obtain unity save by conscious coöperation.

This description of Pacific conferences as assemblies which play at being parliaments will not recommend the Institute to the man of affairs, whether in business or politics. He can demur with a great deal of force that, in refusing to pay the price of reaching decisions, a conference of the Pacific Institute will expose its deliberations to an extreme danger of unreality. In politics it is usually compulsory to reach decisions, and the compulsion is very often urgent. Particularly when a question of war or peace is involved, the decision is likely to demand a choice between two partial evils or partial goods, and these choices, when they go wrong, bring with them the most disastrous and irrevocable consequences. A parliament which, in dealing with vexatious questions of this kind, avoids decisions and falls back, let us say, on further investigation and consultation, is evading the spearhead of the problem. Practical politics, like war, is largely made up of snap decisions which have to be taken on insufficient evidence and in an atmosphere vitiated by greed, ignorance, hurry, propaganda, passion, intolerance and exclusive interests. Would not a political lily, such as an Institute of this kind, need a glass case in order to protect it from rough weather; and, in that event, would it not be smothered for lack of air?

This objection is not fatal, but it contains an amount of truth which the friends of the Institute will do ill to ignore. It is not fatal, because the partial internationalization of the waters of the Pacific and the disposition to safeguard its peoples against aggression will diminish the number, the urgency and the exclusiveness of the choices which may be necessary in conducting the politics of the Pacific. Knots which formerly would have been cut by intervention will be given a chance to unravel. If they will not unravel and intervention is supposed to be necessary, it probably will not take place except by the unanimous consent of the nations with fleets. Interference from abroad has not as yet interrupted or frustrated the Chinese Revolution, as it would have done before the War. But while exclusive decisions no longer make up the stuff of politics in the Pacific, as they formerly did both in the Pacific and the Atlantic, they remain for the present the terminal realities of practical politics. An Institute which will not pay the price of precipitating decisions, but which is, nevertheless, trying to spin a political fabric for early use, will not avoid the penalties of playing politics, while the kind of politics which it plays will, as a consequence of its virtuous intentions, compromise the thoroughness of its inquisition. In the case of China, for instance, it is probable that the question for or against intervention, with or without the company of all the other maritime powers, will, during the next fifty years, have to be decided several times by the Japanese, the British and the American governments. A society of Pacific nations will be promoted or retarded, perhaps even made or unmade, as the result of these decisions. If the Institute is playing politics even indirectly, it will try to influence decisions of this kind which will have to be reached to a large extent in the dark.

The existence of this dilemma was recognized by the Conference of the Institute in certain of its proceedings, but it was not, I think, recognized in its full force. Nor was the better way out of it sharply enough distinguished. Probably a majority of the conferees believed that, while the Institute could not survive if it sought to reach decisions, it could inoffensively perform at least three highly realistic services. It could dig up information which would help statesmen to reach sound decisions; it could indicate the direction which a decision should take; and in certain cases it could, by the weight of its testimony and authority, affirm principles which would have a salutary influence on particular decisions. A case in point was the behavior of the Conference towards the question of feeding the inhabitants of an island like Japan, who are increasing at the rate of almost 900,000 a year and who cannot, because of the policy of other Pacific nations, export in sufficient quantities either population or goods. The Conference did not, of course, explicitly recommend any way of dealing with this problem, but the various speakers tended to endorse the Japanese contention that the other Pacific peoples ought to modify their own policies in order to take care of the Japanese increase in population. If they were not willing to accept Japanese immigrants, it was their duty to provide Japan with raw materials and to buy from her more and more manufactured products, and thus help her to support her increasing population.

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This, as it seems to me, is a good illustration of a doubtful way of trying to give reality to the proceedings of the Institute. While the Institute did not explicitly act, it did, by the emphasis of its discussion, affirm a certain problem of Japanese policy to be primarily international. It implied, consequently, that in any future recognized scheme of international obligations the Japanese could fairly demand a market for either their population or their products in other countries, up to the limit of their own self-determined necessities. In implicitly affirming this principle, it was, I think, perverting its own proper function and misleading the Japanese. For the Japanese surely are not entitled to export either their population or their manufactures to other countries in larger quantities than those countries are disposed to take, unless they have tried persistently and intelligently to reduce the volume of their surplus population; and this is precisely what the Japanese have not as yet done. Doubtless they cannot do it without experimenting with social control in a realm of individual conduct which, from the point of view of Japanese social ethics, should be inviolate; but if the Japanese are unwilling or unable to regulate their increase in population, they cannot reasonably ask another country to modify its tariffs or its immigration laws in order to take care of the fruits of Japanese irresponsibility. It is beginning to look as if there can be no effective future socialization of human life and no stable international pacification unless the progressive societies set up an intelligent censorship over the increase of population. If this is true, and the Japanese are unable or unwilling to play their part in controlling the menace of over-population, it is they, rather than their associates in the Pacific, who are ignoring international obligations.

The Conference would, I think, have behaved more realistically if, instead of practically succumbing to the Japanese contention, it had taken the opportunity to reaffirm its own inquisitorial function. All that the Japanese can fairly ask of such a body as the Institute is a dispassionate, an exhaustive and a continuing study of the extremely important question which they had raised. The Institute cannot give reality to its own proceedings and to the idea of a society of Pacific peoples either by proposing or accepting solutions for particular problems chiefly on the ground of international generosity. If its members assume it to be in search of solutions which can be labeled international and allow their minds to be influenced by this assumption, they are almost certain, when they collide with the ugly and unmanageable dilemmas of practical politics, to indulge in the historic weakness of liberal politicians and publicists. They will try to avoid the dilemmas and satisfy their own consciences by proclaiming pious aspirations or ambiguously virtuous principles, and allegiance to these principles will prevent them from examining disinterestedly the consequences of particular proposals or decisions.

A research institute which is devoted to the exploration of a lofty but remote and unprecedented vision of a Pacific community is, in truth, not equipped to extricate governments from international crises, particularly when they arise from the faulty past experience of the Pacific peoples. It may and should help to create the inquisitive public opinion in the various countries of the Pacific which may prevent the precipitation of these ugly crises. It may and should insist that, unless the waters of the Pacific come to be an international medium, there can be no Pacific community. But, beyond that, it will guard its conduct from being unreal, not by trying to contribute to practical political solutions, but by keeping, no matter what happens, the lamp of disinterested and thorough inquiry ablaze. International crises are fatalities which are themselves indications of political barbarism on the part of governments. When they occur in the Pacific area, they will call for exclusive choices which must be reached largely in obscurity. The members of the Institute cannot, as citizens, avoid taking sides in these controversies. They will have to endorse the policy of their own government or oppose that policy, according to the verdict of their individual consciences, but, in either event, they have a more important service to perform. As the members of a Pacific Institute, they are pledged to watch the conduct of the several governments and peoples and to understand their different motives and proceedings. Unless they keep their own judgment disinterested, alert and well informed, they will paralyze their own ability to bring a Pacific community into existence.

The limitations which I am indicating of the function of an Institute of Pacific Relations are merely a reflection of the limitations of the wholesome operation of understanding and conscience in human affairs. The spokesmen of understanding and conscience have assumed too often that their essential function is legislative. They have supposed themselves to be sufficiently righteous and wise to proclaim principles which were entitled to preside over the destinies of peoples and nations. But legislation, even through the medium of principles, is a rough, peremptory and exclusive activity which can never be more than partially adjusted to its supposed object. The spokesmen of understanding and conscience would do better, consequently, to dissociate themselves, in part at least, from the business of dictating to people how they must or ought to behave. They will be more effective and more consistent if they will confine themselves to the exercise of a more modest function—the function of helping themselves and other people to attain an increasing awareness of the consequences of their acts, and particularly of acts which embody purposes and principles, upon the lives both of individuals and of society. They may, if they like, think

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of themselves as angels, but as recording angels rather than angels of judgment and righteousness. Theirs is a work of methodical inquiry, of indefatigable exploration, of inveterate attention. They fulfill their mission by watching without prejudice what is taking place, by anticipating consequences, detecting latent conflicts, suggesting clues for understanding them and perhaps devices for reconciling them, but in any case by continuing to occupy themselves primarily in observing and cross-examing the event.

IV

In order to understand what the Pacific Institute can do, it is necessary to keep in mind what the Pacific area is. It is at present only a geographical expression. Its peoples do not dwell in relatively permanent or in legally and morally definable relations one to another. Neither can these relations be analyzed into problems of mutual adjustment which are capable of early and satisfactory treatment. The Pacific peoples are only beginning to find one another out. They dwell in and around the largest oceanic area in the world, and amidst the utmost possible diversity of climate and physical surroundings. Their cultures are both more primitive and more worn out, both more ancient and more modern than those of any European countries. They exemplify every stage of economic growth, every variety of political and social institutions and racial stocks and every contrast of religious outlook. They are associated only by one important fact. The Pacific Ocean provides them with a common and an increasingly intimate medium of communication. If anything of importance happens to one of the Pacific peoples, the events will react favorably or unfavorably upon the others. Yet, like the Mediterranean communities, but unlike those of the Atlantic, they originated as states without any reference one to another.

At present, the various Pacific peoples are, more than the Atlantic peoples, unconscious of their origin, their destiny, the changing channels of their lives and their possibilities of future growth or decay. Yet they are well launched on a period of rapid, drastic and incalculable change. Whatever their relations are supposed to be at present, they will soon be entirely transformed. The creation of a Chinese fleet and army, comparable to those of Japan, would, for instance, paint the whole Pacific area a different political color. So would the economic development of the Philippines by American capital, parallel to the existing development of the Hawaiian Islands. It is wholly impossible to predict what these transformations will be, or how they will be brought about. There is no existing center of authority which knows how these affairs ought to be managed. They are bound to run their own course; and yet they cannot be left wholly to chance.

If these transformations are thoroughly watched while they are running their course, they will not be left to chance. Human beings can only modify those processes of which they are conscious. Whenever they seek to ameliorate processes of individual and social life, their first job is to devise a technique of becoming conscious of what they propose to regulate. That, in relation to the Pacific area, is a definition of the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations. I like to think of it as an entirely realistic experiment in unpractical politics. Its way of playing the game will be to sit on the side-lines and watch, but watch eagerly, systematically and associatively. It will watch, through its national groups, the policies of the different governments, in so far as they react on the welfare and the states of mind of the people of other Pacific states. These national groups should consider it their most important job to report the result of their scrutiny to the other national groups at periodic conferences. The value of these conferences will depend partly upon the candor and thoroughness of these reports, and partly upon the candor and the thoroughness of the comments by the groups from other parts of the Pacific. In this way, the associated experiences of the several Pacific peoples will be uncovered, recorded and, in a sense, pooled.

The Institute would conduct the equivalent in one political area of a cost-accounting system in a vast and complicated business. The United States Steel Corporation could not be operated without a system of keeping accounts which recorded fully and accurately the behavior of every branch of the business, and the extent to which each plant or department contributed or did not contribute to the welfare of the whole corporation. This system of accounts is one method which the centralized management uses to keep the different parts of the business together without destroying the independence of these parts. No similar system of accounts is as yet possible in politics. Statesmen or political philosophers are not agreed upon any method of measuring political welfare. Yet a research institute can watch and record, even if it cannot measure. The watching and recording will help, if it is thoroughly and disinterestedly done, to create out of the peoples of the Pacific area a going political concern.

Such an institute cannot, however, if it is to perform its job of accounting conscientiously, afford to let itself get entangled in the responsibilities of legislation and government. Its members will constantly be tempted to believe that it is capable of some salutary intervention in a critical dilemma. It will be continually solicited to take sides in some particularly ugly controversy. Sooner or later it will probably yield to one of these temptations or solicitations, and undertake to place its authority as a research institute behind some piece of practical political advice. But I hope not. If it does commit itself to particular policies, it can hardly fail to become propagandist, and it will measurably disqualify itself for the more permanently important task which no other organized body is in a position

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to perform. It cannot afford to endorse or to participate in any policy that is not frankly experimental, and the effect of its own attitude of watchfulness is to attach an experimental significance to policies which may be intended to be conclusive.

I have called the Institute, as it calls itself, a research body, but it is only partly engaged in digging up information about what has already happened. It is, in reality, far more occupied in searching the careers of those events which are now happening. It is chiefly an instrument of discovery. The vital ingredient in its work consists in practising an impassioned and tireless curiosity which will feed upon the very processes of life in the different parts of the Pacific. Curiosity is an activity which submits other activities to inveterate cross-examination, on the general theory, as Socrates says in the Apology, that an unexamined life is not worth living. It is by virtue of the exercise of this activity that other human activities become manageable, but the control, in that case, is not entitled to be presumptuous. Beware of the pretensions of the alleged social or spiritual architect. The salutary awareness is not merely constructive. Its effect is, at times, likely to be destructive. It does not plan for the future, except occasionally, and for limited purposes. But for that very reason it may work the more creatively. It provides a spiritual medium which is favorable to discovery, to invention and to intuitive revelations; and it is by discovery, and invention, and imaginative revelation that human beings alter the channels through which their lives flow and develop new possibilities of intercourse and conduct.

V

Liberals need a new figure in which to envisage the creative increment which takes place when human beings, by conscious effort, add a cubit to their stature. Until recently, they have compared the creative process both in individual and social life to some kind of political or social engineering, born of an alliance among expert knowledge, definite purpose and good will. But this analogy assumes an excessive confidence in the intellect and its particular resources. Regeneration demands a synthesis between life and truth, not the dictation of one to the other. Liberals will have to trust the success of their aspirations more to the operation of vital processes whose outcome they cannot foresee and whose actualities they may not approve. The goal will not dictate the route, but by feeling out the route without too much presumption, they may come upon surprising glimpses of the goal. It will be their lot to tread in the footsteps of Saul, who went out in search of an ass, and, by searching, came into a kingdom. They might compare what they are doing, not to the building of a bridge from a design, but to a well known chemical process which would, until recently, scarcely have seemed symbolic of a desirable social or spiritual synthesis.

When oxygen and sulphur dioxide are mixed in the presence of a filament of platinum, they form sulphurous acid. This combination takes place only if the platinum is present. Nevertheless, the newly-formed acid contains no trace of platinum, and the platinum itself is not diminished or transformed as the result of the new synthesis which its presence had brought into existence. The platinum has been active and powerful, but at the same time neutral with respect to the two chemicals, and disinterested with respect to the result.* Now, what we need in order to cultivate more successfully the art of fulfilling individual and social life is a spiritual catalyst—an activity, that is, which by its presence will modify unexpectedly, but not arbitrarily, customary behavior, without itself planning or insisting what form the modification will take, and without becoming identified with the success or failure of the new synthesis.

The human spirit is not, apparently, capable of any activity which meets these requirements, except the activity of becoming thoroughly aware of the processes through which its life is realized. This awareness is, I think, in its primary expression, personal and religious, but inveterate and methodical curiosity about what is actually happening to social bodies, both after it has happened and as it is happening, will, if focused in public opinion, act as a catalytic agent with respect to political and social development. The agent will not pretend to predict or dictate the particular form the development will take. It will itself remain disinterested and unconcerned about the specific issues and incidents which may seem of transcendent importance to the more passive actors in the drama of the moment. But it would, by virtue of this very enlightened neutrality, exercise a more profound influence on the outcome of the affair than if it had interfered too officiously and too irretrievably to bring about a specific result. It is an infusion of this kind which social intelligence needs in order to free itself from the domination of particular interests, arrogant rationalizations, cultivated stupidities and a general disposition to act as a lord rather than a leaven of social and political events.

Perhaps I am attaching too much importance to the unpredictably formative effect upon social and political activities which a ruthlessly attentive and inquisitive public opinion may have, but it offers, I think, the only possible way of accomplishing the traditional liberal aspirations. Certainly, if something of the kind cannot be brought to bear on political life, or if, after being brought to bear, it fails to act as a catalytic agent, I doubt whether an Institute such as that of Pacific Relations will survive as a positive element in Pacific politics. It cannot act as general counsel for a corporation of Pacific Powers. No such corporation exists or anywhere nearly exists. It is quite impossible to over-

*I have borrowed this particular illustration from Mr. T. S. Eliot.

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estimate either the unmanageability, the novelty or the contentiousness of the specific problems which the future politics of the Pacific will throw up. But if it is content to act as a watchman, and to keep its flag as a watchman flying, in spite of every temptation to run after the red herrings which provide the diet of practical politics, then it will have a chance to survive and to perform a unique service for the Pacific community. Such a community can only come into existence freely and consciously. No one Pacific people is going to conquer the others as Rome conquered the Mediterranean area, and they will not be forced to combine, as the European nations are now being forced, by outside pressure. Yet if they are to take advantage of their opportunities of intercourse over an international highway, if they are to save themselves from the expense of interfering with one another's development, and if they are to develop their varied and rich social and political possibilities, then they must form a community.

This community can, in the circumstances, be born only of a germ which is somehow both creative and conscious—a rare combination in human life, but perhaps not impossible. So far as I can see, the only chance which we as conscious human beings have to become creative is to fasten our attention on the very processes of life, in the hope of comprehending them rather than dictating to them. If the Institute can comprehend the lives and policies of the Pacific peoples, partly by watching them and partly by comparing different national interpretations of what has happened, it will do its utmost to bring a Pacific community into existence. It should, consequently, be quite content to play the role of lily in the barnyard of the Pacific. If it can only succeed, by paint or otherwise, in keeping the lily white, it may do something to transform the barnyard into a garden and to give the more highly-colored flowers of humanity a better chance to grow.

HERBERT CROLY.

The Un-Americanizing of Sacco and Vanzetti*

I

NICOLA SACCO, then seventeen years old, and his brother Sabino landed in Boston in April, 1908. Two months later, Vanzetti arrived in New York. They did not meet for a number of years.

But the story of every immigrant immediately after reaching America is similar. Dazed and frightened by the noise, the speed, the strange tongues and strange ways of the new land, they stumbled blindly, desperately, in search of work and bread. They were a prey to every employment-office shark and every labor contractor. They were fleeced at the job and fleeced in spending their small earnings afterward. It was a bad time to arrive. A period of comparative prosperity had reached a tragic climax in a "crisis." Wages were low and jobs at any wage were scarce.

Young Nicola considered himself lucky. Near Milford, Massachusetts, he was hired to carry water for a gang of laborers working on the road. Many of them were Italians. They liked him, and he felt at home. He was fascinated by the engines, the sizzle of tar being poured, the sense of work being accomplished. When winter came on, he found work in the Hopedale machine shops, trimming the slag off pig iron. It was gruelling work, but the boy was strong and did not mind.

Vanzetti, over in New York, was having a harder time of it. Perhaps he was more sensitive than Sacco to the ignominy and uncertainty of his lot. Through the good offices of a countryman, who was a cook, he obtained a job as dishwasher in a fashionable club. Vanzetti remembered the time with a shudder of horror.

> I worked there three months [he wrote]. The hours were long; the garret where we slept was suffocatingly hot; and the vermin did not permit me to close an eye. Almost every night I sought escape in the park.

He had sailed right into the purgatory of a hot summer in the slums of the American metropolis.

> Leaving this place [he continues], I found the same kind of employment in the M— Restaurant. What the conditions there are at present I do not know. But at that time, thirteen years ago (1908), the pantry was horrible. There was not a single window in it. When the electric light for some reason was out, it was totally dark, so that we couldn't move without running into things. The vapor of the boiling water where the plates, pans and silver were washed formed great drops of water on the ceiling, took up all the dust and grime there, then fell slowly one by one on my head, as I worked below. During working hours the heat was terrific. The table leavings amassed in barrels near the pantry gave out nauseating exhalations. The sinks had no direct sewerage connection. Instead, the water was permitted to overrun to the floor. In the center of the room there was a drain. Every night the pipe was

* This article forms a chapter in Mr. Lyons' book on Sacco and Vanzetti, to be published late this month by International Publishers, Inc., New York City.

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> clogged and the greasy water rose higher and higher and we trudged in the slime.
>
> We worked twelve hours one day and fourteen the next, with five hours off every other Sunday. Damp food hardly fit for dogs and five or six dollars a week was the pay.

He remained in this slime, twelve and fourteen hours a day, for eight months. Then he searched New York for another job. But the crisis was still upon the country. Despair stalked through the New York working-class districts. "What toiler does not remember it?" Vanzetti asks. "The poor slept outdoors and rummaged the garbage barrels to find a cabbage leaf or a rotten potato." A starved, frantic search for three months—but no job. Then, at the suggestion of another starved and desperate Italian, they used up Vanzetti's remaining money to get to Hartford, Connecticut, together.

But these are merely the external incidents of an immigrant's existence, privations and uncertainties to which he becomes accustomed. Far deeper and more tragic are the humiliations of his changed social standing, the ruthless shattering of all his preconceptions about America.

II

On the train from Modane to Paris the writer found himself in a compartment with a family of Italian peasants going to America. Among them was a boy of twelve or thirteen, keyed up by the vision of the great adventure awaiting him. He was excited to find an American, and proceeded to confide his high hopes. He pictured America as a place of great spaces, filled with cowboys and Indians, where courage and strength such as his would surely win fame.

"I'll be a cowboy sure enough!" he boasted.

Later his mother showed the address to which they were going. It was a street in the "little Italy" of New York, crowded and ill-smelling as an oriental slum. Imagine the revulsion of this boy when his dream broke on the garbage heaps of Mulberry Street! When his vision of a vigorous life ended at a sewing machine or in a New Jersey textile mill!

Sacco, Vanzetti, a million others had left a quiet, primitive, almost pastoral life. They found themselves suddenly engulfed in American industrialism, frightened, bewildered, puny. From his father's garden young Bartolomeo had been catapulted among the skyscrapers, the dizzy traffic, the speed-up systems, the shrieking hurry of New York. From half-dreamy Torremaggiore young Nicola had been hurtled into the New England of crowded shoe towns and textile towns, where men and women and children were crammed in by the thousand and driven . . . driven . . .

The change is too violent for an easy adjustment, especially when everything is calculated to make the process harder. Vanzetti spoke for millions of Russians and Poles and Italians and Irish when, sitting in the shadow of the electric chair years later, he recorded his crushing disillusionment. He wrote:

> In the immigration station I had my first great surprise. I saw the steerage passengers handled by the officials like so many animals. Not a word of kindness, of encouragement, to lighten the burden of fears that rests heavily upon the newly arrived on American shores. Hope, which lured these immigrants to the new land, withers under the touch of harsh officials. Little children who should be alert with expectancy cling instead to their mothers' skirts, weeping with fright. Such is the unfriendly spirit that exists in the immigration barracks.
>
> How well I remember standing at the Battery, in lower New York, upon my arrival, alone, with a few poor belongings in the way of clothes, and very little money. Until yesterday I was among folks who understood me. This morning I seemed to have awakened in a world where my language meant little more to the native (so far as meaning is concerned) than the pitiful noises of a dumb animal. Where was I to go? What was I to do? Here was the promised land. The elevated rattled by and did not answer. The automobiles and the trolleys sped by, heedless of me.

Until yesterday, Vanzetti was a distinct personality. He had a family, traditions, roots in the ground of Villa Falletto. There was continuity and meaning to his life. But no sooner had he stepped on American soil than these things fell away from him. He became a dago and a guinea, his name a jumble of letters and of no consequence, his language and his mannerisms fair game for the burlesquers. He became factory fodder, a "hand," scarcely reckoned by his hosts as a "white man."

Until yesterday, Sacco was somebody. Now he was just another dago, one of the goddam foreigners who can always be told to go back where they came from. He was one of the anonymous millions of wops and hunkies and polaks and squareheads and greasers who fill the steel mills and dig up coal and burrow tunnels—the most underpaid, overworked and intimidated workers in America.

At every step their loss of individuality is stressed, their humiliation deepened. From every pulpit and editorial rostrum, from the mouth of every two-by-four politician and condescending social worker, they hear that they must be "grateful" for their right to toil. They are "Americanized" about as gently as a horse is broken in. Their inherited traditions and points of view are insulted, ignored, treated as a kind of disloyalty.

Only the strongest among them can overcome the social judgment which presses in upon them from all sides: that they are inferiors, intruders in a superior civilization. Few of them can shake off this feeling even after America has accepted them, given them money or political power or cultural recognition. They remain to the end of their days apologetic, humiliatingly humble and "thankful." The shelves are cluttered with books by these pathetic,

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apologetic aliens explaining their right to exist in America, although some of them—scientists and writers and business men—have done more for America than America can possibly do for any one human being.

The second generation of aliens, the sons and daughters of foreign-born parents, usually intensify this humiliation. From the schools, the newspapers, the moving picture theaters, they bring home a disdain for everything "foreign." Their foreign names, the alien tongues spoken at home, the un-American ideas and customs of the old people, become so many badges of shame. The parent feels that the new land, having reduced him to the anonymity of a "steel hand" or sand-hog, also steals away his children.

Only a comparative few among the millions of immigrants caught and held under this mountain of contempt and abuse manage to squirm out. These manage to hold fast to their human dignity. They insist on their right to fight against oppressive conditions, even oppressive conditions in America. We have built your roads and laid your rails, they say. We have dug your coal and iron. Our bodies are cemented into the foundations of your bridges and skyscrapers. We have done the hardest work and accepted the smallest pay. We consider, therefore, that we belong here, that we may preach and agitate and organize. More than that, because our fellow immigrants suffer most severely from the inequalities of the economic system and the hypocrisies of the legal and political systems, it is especially our right and our duty to agitate and to organize.

Of this minority were Sacco and Vanzetti.

EUGENE LYONS.

Washington Notes

THE talent for inactivity and the genius for inertia possessed by the Hon. Calvin Coolidge which have, at times, vastly irritated some of our most eminent and powerful Republican politicians, are beginning these days to be appreciated at something like their true political value. With the elimination of the noble Calvin, the Grand Old Party is confronted with the embarrassing necessity of having to make a choice next year among a group of men, every one of whom—even the least important—is strong enough to have aroused at least some antagonisms. The great asset of Mr. Coolidge was that he did not arouse any. It is only men of action who make enemies. Mr. Coolidge is preëminently a man of inaction. The holding of strong, clear views on mooted public questions, the harboring of genuine convictions about controversial matters, the taking of definite stands one way or another—these are things which, while they may serve a fine public purpose, inevitably create a hostile political feeling. Mr. Coolidge has been wholly free of these handicaps. The result is that there is today an almost incredible lack of personal hostility toward him. I do not like to exaggerate, but I do believe that no President of the United States ever closed his term of service the recipient of as little personal bitterness as Mr. Coolidge.

Lest I be misunderstood, I hasten to add that I do not consider this a compliment to Mr. Coolidge—rather the reverse. Here is a man who, for nearly six years, has held more power than any other in the world, and has done so little with it that at the end of five years he has not collected either at home or abroad a single genuine antagonism.

Even the anti-administration Senators like Norris, Borah and La Follette, and anti-administration leaders like Lowden and Dawes, have no feeling against Mr. Coolidge personally. Nor have the Democrats. Not even the unsavory fellows of the Daugherty stripe dislike him personally. He did not get rid of them until he had to, and they have no rancor toward the man. There isn't room or reason for any. No one will ever say of Mr. Coolidge, "we love him for the enemies he has made," and no one is apt to arise in the country again for a long time who is so beautifully fitted for the position of party totem pole, or who has such a complete absence of rough edges to interfere with the propaganda coverings.

Take the two so-called leading aspirants—Hughes and Hoover. It is true that both have many thousands of admirers, large and devoted personal followings, but they also number their political and personal enemies by the score, and their vibrant personalities stick out in a way to defy the most skillful use of the propaganda brush. Take Lowden and Dawes—each of them has held views, expressed convictions, taken stands that have caused him to be denounced at times by those who held opposite views and convictions. Take Borah and Bill Thompson, Deneen and Jim Watson, take even the "Prince of Good Fellows" himself—at one time or another they have all stepped on somebody's toes, and there are people who, for one reason or another, roundly curse them all. But no one curses Cal.

His withdrawal is a great joke on the Republican party. For the first time in twelve years, it looks as if it might have to nominate a man for President who stands for something besides "prosperity" and "economy," health and happiness. If they are forced to yield to this unpleasant necessity, their chances of success in the election will be appreciably impaired. I do not mean to say that the Republicans will not be able to elect whomever they nominate. As the majority party, the odds are certainly in their favor. They will have the press, the business and banking influences, the money and the machinery. It is a hard combination to buck, but if they are going to nominate a man who measures up to the job in intellectual attainments and has personal convictions on public questions, it will not be quite so easy. Such a man may be elected, but he will never get a seven-million Coolidge majority—not by several millions. The last time the party nominated such a man, he was licked. They do not want to nominate that sort of man again—and will not, unless it seems more dangerous to turn him down than to put him up.

No one who knows the present-day prejudices and poisons that affect the so-called mind of the average American voter can doubt for a moment that a man who really stands for something is a weaker candidate than one who

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stands for nothing. It can be proved by a hundred instances. Suppose, for example, the Republicans nominate a man who has a genuine conviction one way or another about the Volstead law. Or about the World Court? Or the agricultural problem? Or religious bigotry? Obviously such a man, unless he could be muzzled during the campaign, would alienate elements that have consistently supported the Republican ticket in recent elections. And even then, if he were a big enough man, with a real record, the voters would suspect him. Of course, the Democrats, with customary lack of political cunning, can probably be counted upon also to nominate a man who stands for something, which will lessen but not wholly remove the Republican danger. The bigger and better they are, the greater the danger. This, as I see it, is the chief obstacle in the way of the gentlemen who happen at this time to be most conspicuously mentioned for the next Republican nomination.

On the Democratic side of the fence, there has been amazingly little of interest or importance in the past few weeks, and so-called Democratic leaders who are in Washington these days, awaiting the opening of Congress, seem not to have evolved a single new thought or idea since they left here last June. My notion of nothing at all happening was the long and solemn withdrawal of Brother McAdoo as a candidate for the presidential nomination, and my idea of muddy political thinking is embodied in the weighty interview of Brother Meredith of Iowa, calling upon the Democrats of the South and West to produce a candidate capable of blocking the nomination of the Hon. Alfred Emanuel Smith. In the first place, Brother McAdoo, deserted by Chadbourne, Baruch, Roper and practically every other figure of consequence in his 1924 fight, has not, for more than a year, been regarded as a serious political contender.

No one in either party has dwindled as much in strength as Mr. McAdoo in the last three years. He could not—and everybody knew he could not—muster any respectable number of votes in the next convention, and old Dr. Detweiler out in San Francisco is responsible for the statement that he could not this time get his own state. The solemnity of the "withdrawal" in the interests of "party harmony" was, under the circumstances, one of the most absurd things that has happened in a long time. The lack of merriment the "withdrawal," and the subsequent suggestions from his friends that Smith follow this noble example, created in the daily press may have been due to editorial pity, or it may have been due merely to editorial dumbness. In any event, I have no desire to interfere with the McAdoo "face saving" act. It is all right with me. Of course, the effect on the situation was exactly nothing. It neither increased nor decreased Smith's chances. There was no reason why it should. Mr. Meredith's idea of calling a conference of dry leaders to settle on a dry candidate to beat Smith is, I am told, chiefly supported by a former ornament of the McAdoo 1924 pay-roll who hates the idea that it cannot be resuscitated. I wish I could write what the dry Democratic Senators here in Washington say of that idea, but it can't be done in a great family journal such as the New Republic.

Washington. T. R. B.

Lovers and Enemies

The Mikado, by Gilbert and Sullivan. Royale Theater, September 19, 1927.

Lovers and Enemies, by Artzybasheff, translated by Madame Strindberg. Little Theater, September 20, 1927.

THE Winthrop Ames' Gilbert and Sullivan Opera Company has begun its season with a production of "The Mikado" on which quite as much luxurious care and expense has been put as went to the earlier "Iolanthe" or "The Pirates of Penzance." Nothing is spared in the selection of the chorus, who seem the most intelligent and acceptable in New York; no detail of costume or setting is omitted. Mr. Ames and Mr. Raymond Sovey, who designed the decor, have lavished everything on the presentation. But it is, nevertheless, not a joyous occasion, not even a happy one, though agreeable and well bred enough. It has not even the click and spirits of the other two ventures into Gilbert and Sullivan, but goes tamely and mildly and with a misleading efficiency from start to finish.

Gilbert and Sullivan are unique in our English theater and in the theater of the world. They have their undying peculiar qualities of wit and high spirits, shy poetry, gay or lovely music. Any organization or ambition or taste that would keep such art going for us is invaluable. It becomes very worthwhile, then, to try for some of the reasons why this genteel sterility and efficient missing the spirit and point should occur, and why there should be more wrappings and smoothness and less point in the third opera even than in the other two.

There are definite details that can be pointed out: the orchestra, for instance, for "The Mikado" under the leadership of Mr. Sepp Morscher has no snap, little phrase, no infectious insinuation—I noticed that the audience paid no more attention to the overture than they ordinarily do to the tinky-tink and blare of the music that lifts the curtain in any theater on Broadway. And, to cite one other detail, there is Miss Vera Ross as Katisha, the elderly lady, with the largest circulation in the world, who is in love with the wandering minstrel, the Mikado's son, and who supplies a bouncing tragic-ironic tangle to the lovers' course. Miss Ross has a remarkable voice, one to which you listen with great pleasure. You are too much absorbed, perhaps, with the voice to register the drama of the character and moment; and Miss Ross herself seems to be so much absorbed by her own musical persuasion that she forgets to be anything but serious singing. And when she appears for the first time, you suddenly see, there at the back of the scene, not a comic personage, not any satire of this world, but a magnificent red kimono, a woman with gray hair, burlesque eyebrows, a threatening mien—and the entire turning of the plot is gone. In her next scene Katisha is quite as splendid in green silk, and when she sings, you have to lean far out of the moment in order to forget the voice, the costume, the opera of it, and to realize the delicious content so richly covered up. This is the same thing that has happened before, as, for one example, when that queen of the fairies sang about sleeping in a buttercup, and the point fell out because

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she was not fat at all and not comic, but only sonorous and splendid, with as few concessions to levity as possible.

In the present production, Mr. John Barclay, as the Mikado himself, has excellent moments, and Miss Lois Bennett's Yum Yum has a pretty, carrying voice, without knowing at all what the play is about. Mr. William C. Gordon's Pooh-Bah has curiously the movement and make-up of the part without any of its humor. The only performance in "The Mikado" that lies entirely within Gilbert and Sullivan's world is that of Mr. Fred Wright's Ko-Ko. That has the whimsy and wit of the role, in the actor's movement, phrase and, most of all, in his transitions between the moods that he is to present, the Gilbert and Sullivan humor that lies so much in combinations and swift changes.

The whole production, from every side, needs to be more burly, downright, hearty, as well as more melodic and joyous. One wonders many things. This special sort of American adequacy and smooth craft and luxury, is it worth very much in itself? You may run smoothly without running anywhere. Our eternal concessions to the popular degree of understanding, our energy, our simplified, violent humor, does all that necessarily supply the philosophy, vitality and wit that such art as Gilbert and Sullivan's demands? And how much must a nation be able really to play and enjoy itself before it can interpret such art as this?

The Russian piece with which the Grand Street Follies Company begin an abatement of their revue and a course toward other ventures, like Lord Dunsany's "If," is the kind of drama that many people in the audience will at once decide to be lugubrious and unreal. To them such a talking of happiness through tears, and of tears through happiness, such discussions, such yearnings and confusions are only tedious, if not morbid.

As a matter of fact, Artzybasheff's "Lovers and Enemies," translated by Madame Strindberg so that the foreign tinge remains in the lines, and rightly so, since the manner of thought is foreign, illustrates very well what may often be observed in such drama when it is seen in our theater. The way the characters think, the moment in which the thoughts arrive—perhaps even the fact that they think at all—seems unnatural to many of us. It is unnatural, because it comes plainly from another race, but it is, all the same, true enough. I listened to this Russian play recognizing at every turn a certain consistent soul among the characters. And if its manner and the turn of its ideas seemed far away, its basis seemed true; the content of "Lovers and Enemies" is moving and human, it rests on a sound statement of human nature and society.

The performance was not brilliant, for the company as it stood had to be utilized, so far as possible, and the players given a chance at a growth of their own. But there was a certain level of comprehension and enough passable technical ability to give the play a chance to show itself. The good effect of the actors' having played together for a long time appeared in the same way; they had a give and take that left the play better exposed than it would have been in most New York companies.

The play itself is like a novel with more pointing up than fiction requires; it is like Chekhov without Chekhov's luminous quietness and glow. Its arrangements are more striking than Chekhov's, without meaning as much or lasting as long in our thoughts. The story involves a doctor, a young girl and three couples who love and contend with one another in the midst of other attractions and needs; and, without the depth of characterization or insight of Chekhov, pushes its motives farther toward the footlights. Such Russian plays have their own humor and variety, but the lack of humor in the characters themselves, their persistent introspection and show of feeling, tends to scare both our actors and our audiences, who lack the Russian resilience, into a monotony of mood that is false to the original.

Among the individual performances, Miss Joanna Roos showed again that same realistic gift that she had in "The Green Ring," her first part, four or five seasons back. It is a gift strangely unique: great precision of effect without any strong underscoring; an elusive, intense emotional rhythm; no outward violence, but genuine intensity. Her portrayal of the musician's wife, torn between her love for him and her unsatisfied physical desires, was, with Miss Eva Condon's old wife, Olga, and Mr. Leo Bulgakov's fine Nicolai Ivanovich, her husband, the best in the company. If the production of "Lovers and Enemies" were worth nothing else, it would be justified by the chance given us to see Mr. Bulgakov, already known in the Moscow Art Theater, act in English.

STARK YOUNG.

Proust and Yeats

THE July instalment of Proust in the Nouvelle Revue Française contains the beginning of what is evidently to be the final episode of "A La Recherche du Temps Perdu." It will be possible to speak properly about this remarkable episode only when the whole novel is before us (and even this section is appearing in the Nouvelle Revue Française in a cut form); but there is one feature of it which supplies a striking text for the general discussion of a general situation.

Proust's hero is on his way to a party at the Prince de Guermantes': just before he gets there, he is crowded off the road by a carriage also going to the party, and as he steps up on to the kerb, he is visited by another of those strange sensations—those impressions fraught with a mysterious significance—which he has previously experienced, and described, in connection with the three church steeples which he saw on a drive, in his childhood, and later in connection with a certain clump of trees. This time, however, he is determined to get to the bottom of the mystery: he broods upon it with intensity, and presently he finds himself experiencing a whole series of similar sensations. In every case, he discovers, some accident of the physical world—some odor, touch, taste or sound—has served to remind him of what he felt at some moment of the past when a similar sense-impression occurred—as the uneven stones of the kerb, by reminding his body of the water-steps of Venice, has brought before his mind, divorced from their environment, the bright Venetian light and water. What is the significance, he asks himself, of these

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strangely persistent impressions, which spring back into his consciousness on the slightest provocation and at the most irrelevant pretext? They move him profoundly and they seem to exist outside time, alone to remain independent of the incalculable flux of life. He will set himself to unriddle them, and we are given to understand that it will not be merely with symbols derived from landscape that he will occupy himself, but also with symbols derived from his experience of human society: the narrative of which he is now nearing the end is in fact the result of this research. We perceive what we may have guessed before, that the principal characters of the novel have been chosen —not for the part they actually play in the career of the hero (since some of the most important play almost no part at all)—but because each embodies a sort of general principle of human conduct. Aunt Léonie, Swann, the hero's grandmother, Françoise, Albertine, Charlus and the rest—have a universal significance. And in general, everything has been excluded from the novel which is not a symbol of something deeper and wider than itself. This is what makes Proust's book, though so hauntingly actual, so different from the ordinary modern novel, which aims merely at accuracy of observation or soundness of documentation—at some form of "realism." Proust is not realistic: he is completely careless of the circumstantial logic which is one of the chief concerns of the realistic novelist: his chronology is as entangled and the proportions of his events as distorted as those of memory itself. He makes no attempt, as the ordinary biographical novelist does, to give a complete and plausible account of his hero's life: we hear much about his grandmother, but almost nothing about his father, and are never even told precisely what he does. We hear much about his holidays at the sea-shore, and nothing about his education. We hear at length about his visit to Saint-Loup at the time when the latter is doing his military term, but know nothing save through casual allusion of his own military experience. In one of his most eloquent passages, Proust tells us that each of us carries in his imagination a set of mysterious symbols like those which he has just described, and that it is the prime business of the artist to spell out these hieroglyphics—a most difficult task, he adds, from which we are always all too ready to be seduced by all sorts of conventional interests (as the French writers have, he says, so often been by politics)—by all those values which, for the artist, must remain essentially superficial.

Here we find the fruit of Proust's training in the French school of symbolism of the end of the last century, and an extension of its theory into practice which that generation never knew. A similar development is to be observed in the case of Mr. W. B. Yeats, whose collected works have now for the first time been published in an easily available form and which, I believe, will have more to say to the present generation than they did to that which first read them. I have just been reading the volume of Essays, and I find in them a philosophic application of the symbolistic principles, on a scale perhaps elsewhere unknown among the original group of symbolists. Nowhere have I found the theory of symbolism so clearly and so vigorously stated, and with so deep a comprehension of the importance of the revolution which it was effecting in literature. Nowhere, at least, except in Proust, in the passage discussed above. Though the material of Yeats' own art is so different from that of Proust, the tenor of their theory is the same. "There is," Yeats says in his penetrating essay on the symbolism of Shelley, "for every man some one scene, some one adventure, some one picture, that is the image of his secret life, for wisdom first speaks in images and . . . this one image, if he would but brood over it his whole life long, would lead his soul, disentangled from unmeaning circumstance and the ebb and flow of the world, into that far household, where the undying gods await all whose souls have become simple as flame, whose bodies have become quiet as an agate lamp."* All great literature, says Yeats, is created out of symbols: observations and statistics are nothing: works of art which depend upon them can have no enduring value. Yeats believes in neither the social drama, the naturalistic novel nor the poem to promote a popular cause. "There is something," he says, "of an old wives' tale in fine literature. The makers of it are like an old peasant telling stories of the great famine or the hangings of '98 or from his own memories. He has felt something in the depth of his mind and he wants to make it as visible and powerful to our senses as possible. He will use the most extravagant words or illustrations if they will suit his purpose. Or he will invent a wild parable, and the more his mind is on fire or the more creative it is, the less will he look at the outer world or value it for its own sake. It gives him metaphors and examples, and that is all. He is even a little scornful of it, for it seems to him while the fit is on that the fire has gone out of it and left it but white ashes. I cannot explain it, but I am certain that every high thing was invented in this way, between sleeping and waking, as it were, and that peering and peeping persons are but hawkers of stolen goods. How else could their noses have grown so ravenous or their eyes so sharp." All this is perhaps a taking of the symbols of symbolism more seriously than its founders themselves had done: Yeats seems to have been dissatisfied with the medley of images in French symbolistic poetry and deliberately to have sought better systematized symbols, and symbols which had already the advantage of having passed into currency, in Irish mythology and in the accepted repertory of occultism. Yet his work, like that of Proust, grew directly from the symbolistic seed and, taken together with that of so many of the other important writers of our day, justifies Yeats' assertion, made in 1897, that "the reaction against the ration-

*It is interesting to compare with these artistic precepts a similar doctrine in the different field of morals from one of Mr. John Jay Chapman's essays: "It may be that you are not destined to experience religion. Very well, accept this destiny; acceptance is the beginning as it is the end of religion. We must each walk our own path and move in that direction where glimmers the dawn or what looks like the dawn, leaving the rationale of our conduct to the outcome. By following our inner feeling, no matter how quaintly it may express itself, or how remote it may seem from the usual modes of expression, we shall set ourselves on the road towards the great discoveries. . . . The secret of the heart—a thing personal and intimate—being expressed, stated perhaps with diffidence, turns out to be the great lamp of truth, an axis on which human life turns, and has ever turned."

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alism of the eighteenth century has mingled with a reaction against the materialism of the nineteenth century, and the symbolical movement, which has come to perfection in Germany in Wagner, in England in the Pre-Raphaelites, and in France in Villiers de l'Isle Adam, and Mallarmé, and Maeterlinck, and has stirred the imagination of Ibsen and D'Annunzio, is certainly the only movement that is saying new things."

We are, however, in reading Yeats' criticism, struck also by another feature of the school of literature which he represents—a sort of weakness involved in its strength. The dredging up of these precious symbols seems invariably to be regarded as involving a suspension of the will: "Every visionary knows that the mind's eye soon comes to see a capricious and variable world, which the will cannot shape or change, though it can call it up and banish it again"; "We must find some place upon the Tree of Life for the Phoenix nest, for the passion that is exaltation and the negation of the will"; the style of the dialogue in Synge's plays "blurs definition, clear edges, everything that comes from the will, it turns imagination from all that is of the present, like a gold background in a religious picture, and it strengthens in every emotion whatever comes to it from far off, from brooding memory and dangerous hope," etc. The creative effort which is here proposed is, then, antagonistic to the will, and we see plainly in those modern writers most addicted to the reveries of symbolism that this is true. This disinclination to occupy himself with action is precisely what makes Yeats, great poet as he is, in the long run a little oppressive and dispiriting. And the same is true of the great novelist, Proust: Proust's hero is probably the most supine and the most helpless in literature: his youth is mostly spent lying in bed and he passes his later years in a sanitarium. All his passion, which is intense, and his energy, which is prodigious, are applied to plumbing the emotions and sensations which arise from his passive contacts with life. It may be predicted, I believe, that when the literary tide turns again, it will be this deficiency of our own time which will lie most seriously open to attack. Proust's hero, with his fear of life and his incapacity to deal with it; James Joyce's Mr. Bloom, with his crowded consciousness and his invincible ineptitude; the intoxicating reveries and the haughty disdain for action of the poet of Yeats' poetry; the disorganized imagination, the resignation and the impotence of the poet of Eliot's; the mythological M. Teste of Paul Valéry, the apotheosis of that phase of the human mind where it seems to stand at a cross-roads leading out into all the fields of human activity because it does not enter into action at all—all these heroes of our present enthusiasm are probably destined, when the next generation arrives, to become objects of derision. The symbolistic movement began by rescuing poetry from naturalistic description; and, penetrating into all fields of literature, it has since enormously enriched our ways of feeling and deepened the reach of our minds, until it has acquired a sort of philosophic importance in supplying us with new conceptions of the behavior of the human consciousness and of its relation to the universe. It will, however, in the long run, have to unite itself with the life of action which it now scorns. And when this takes place, it will not, I believe, mean altogether the profanation of the sanctities of the imagination, but rather the application to the emergencies of the general life of a new and valuable kind of intelligence. EDMUND WILSON.

CORRESPONDENCE

What Courts Should Do

SIR: Your editorial comment on my letter regarding the Sacco-Vanzetti case misstates the one of my points that you discuss. I did not suggest "that, in treating criminal cases, courts and juries should be abolished." I did and do question whether courts and juries should "do more than to compel a psychopathic person [whom they have convicted of a crime] to submit to competent [psycho-]therapeutic treatment." It is jails and executions that I would abolish, and mental hospitals that I would put in their place. How much more psychological knowledge do we need to warrant such a step? MORRIS A. COPELAND.

Robert Brookings Graduate School, Washington, D. C.

[Professor Copeland's earlier letter, published and discussed in the New Republic of Sept. 12, said: "The significant fact is that we continue to maintain a governmental system for finding someone guilty of each crime and for wreaking vengeance upon him, instead of maintaining a governmental system for the prevention of crime and the therapeutic treatment of dangerous psychopathic cases. If what we seek is prevention of crime rather than vengeance, do we not need to give far more attention to the removal of social conditions under which the type of psychological abnormality that results in criminal action develops? A system of penalties and trial by jury, no matter how fair or how efficiently administered, is scarcely a substitute for sociological investigation and social legislation.

"And, equally, do we not need to take the diagnosis and prescription for such pathological cases away from the judicial system and employ competent psychiatrists for this function? What have the contradictory identifications and alibis or the conflicting testimony of experts which characterize the Sacco-Vanzetti case—but certainly are not peculiar to it—to do with the proper treatment of those who are convicted of crime? Ought our present legalistic 'criminal procedure' in any case do more than to compel a psychopathic person to submit to competent therapeutic treatment?"—THE EDITORS.]

Mr. Pound Likes It

SIR: Allow me to register difference with or from Mr. R. Littell, as he bursts on your August 10 issue. He is too sweeping in the pronoun "those." The enveloping cloak is not large enough. Mr. Hemingway's "The Torrents of Spring" is not soggy. I advise Mr. Littell and *all* American writers to have a look at it. It kicks the bunk out of a number of national imbecilities; the height or upper-extendingness of the boot* is not the point. The point of Mr. Hemingway's boot is quite solid. . . .

It is a great pity that Mr. H. has not been annoyed by (among other things) American public life, Congress, the bureaucracy, passports, copyright, the customs-house, etc. The really Balzacian touch in Murkn fixhun will be attained when someone of Hemingway's *verve* is sufficiently disgusted with these things to get interested in their portrayal. The sogginess of the situation, if it exists, is in the lack of resilience in the objects booted, not in intrinsic action of booting.

In a vast uncorrelated country, having a vast Anglo-Teuto-Nordic, in short, non-Latin component, it is impossible for one author to deflate more than a certain amount of blah at one deflation; but when these deflations occur they should be exploited. Mr. Littell and his 300,000 fellow writers should both read and advise each other to read the scorned opusculus, "The Torrents of Spring." EZRA POUND.

Rapallo, Italy.

*Mr. Littell employs the term "hip-boot."

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The New
REPUBLIC

Fall Literary Section

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Portrait and Background

Henry Ward Beecher, An American Portrait, by Paxton Hibben. New York: George H. Doran Company. 390 pages. $5.

THE present vogue of biography, by virtue of which it rivals fiction in popularity, is not hard to explain. Interest in the lives of others is more widely diffused, if not actually stronger, than the interest in our own. We are all biographers when we talk about one another, whether we call it gossiping or, in Howells' elegant phrase, "gathering material for formulating character." This informal biography, as we all recognize, finds its spice in reporting dereliction of some sort from the code. Until recently, formal biography was, for the most part, without this resource. So long as biography was practised for monumental or exemplary purposes, it was compelled to produce characters idealized in the manner of mortuary statuary. Only under the influence of modern realism has the biographer been permitted to approach his public on the side of its strongest interest—that in human experience—and to make use of the most exciting part of his hero's experience—that in which he departed from the accepted *mores*.

As in realistic fiction, so in realistic biography, the question of the permissible limits of frankness remained for discussion, a discussion embittered in the case of the latter by its traditions—*de mortuis nil nisi bonum,* and "lives of great men all remind us." Froude's "Carlyle" furnished the cause *célèbre* in this controversy, followed by Purcell's "Manning," and Strachey's "Eminent Victorians." The controversy may be said to be over. The public, having tasted the flesh and blood of men who were once living, will never again be put off with bronze and marble. It will have the truth and the whole truth, even something beyond the truth. The monumental art of biography still survives in the authorized and official life and letters, subsidized by the family of the victim; but popular biography ranges far beyond its classic limitations, both in selection of subject matter and freedom of treatment. Indeed, the characteristic biography of today deals with figures whose lives challenged convention, Shelley, Proust, Lassalle, and, in America, Barnum, Horace Greeley, Brigham Young and John L. Sullivan. For some time past, the shade of Henry Ward Beecher must have been awaiting the call of "Next."

The career of Henry Ward Beecher will always excite the admiration due to paradox. From a boyhood so obscure and unpromising that his own father seems at times to have forgotten his existence, he came to occupy the center of the American stage, the very heart of the spotlight. From an inheritance of Calvinism, with its doctrines of predestination, the fall, a jealous God, a limited atonement for the few and everlasting torment for the rest of mankind, he came to preach a God of infinite love for the sinner, and man capable of infinite progress through evolution. He seemed to be an exception to all rules of human causation; in his case, acts failed of their natural consequences. He pussy-footed on the subject of slavery, and yet shares the fame of William Lloyd Garrison; as a late convert he put Abolition above the Constitution, and yet shines among the preservers of the Union; he always opposed Lincoln, nowhere more fiercely than in the matter of placating England after the Trent affair, and yet he gained the credit of swaying British public opinion, by his speeches in Liverpool and Manchester, in favor of the North; he followed Johnson in his policy of reconciliation with the South, but escaped Johnson's fate; he stood staunchly by Grant in the unspeakable corruption of his administration, and yet secured a place in history as a reformer and a Mugwump; for ten years he endured the fire of the hottest scandal kindled in America, yet in the face of flaming facts, including his own confessions, dampened only by the feeblest of Scotch verdicts, he con-

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tinued to be a spiritual leader of his people from pulpit and platform.

As Beecher did not write his own life, and as Lyman Abbott touched the substance of it rather squeamishly, Mr. Hibben has taken up the job. His book is a modern biography in every sense. He has collected the facts as they exist in newspapers and contemporary records, with extreme thoroughness. He has interpreted them in the light of the new psychology. He has recreated the background of the primitive frontier settlements of Lawrenceburgh and Indianapolis, where Beecher began his ministrations, and of Brooklyn with Plymouth Church as its temple. Mr. Hibben illustrates one shortcoming of the modern behavioristic biographer. His study of the hero's behavior tends steadily to diminish his sympathy with him. It is one thing to have pity and understanding for a man's acts; it is another to extend this humane attitude to his rationalization of them, his hypocrisy in covering up, especially when it is glaringly successful with his public. This higher toleration Mr. Hibben sometimes lacks. He is not the stern moralist who casts the first stone, but when he sees the victim catching innumerable missiles and turning them into bouquets he cannot resist taking a fling himself. Mr. Hibben's indignation is creditable to him as a man, but it is not an asset to him as a biographer. He seems to hold a brief against his client and gloats or jeers when he finds him in trouble. For instance, when Beecher, after announcing his support of Cleveland, was suddenly confronted by the fact that this candidate had confessed to an illegitimate son, his biographer cannot suppress his glee. "An adulterer; Cleveland was an adulterer! Good God, why couldn't he have been a forger or a burglar!" But his interpretation of the sudden violence with which Beecher threw himself into the campaign is highly plausible. He could not renounce Cleveland; he could not palliate or apologize; he had to identify himself with the candidate and find justification for both in a public triumph. And, with the daring of which he was always capable when cornered, he went after the adulterous vote. His plea was: "If every man in New York State tonight who has broken the Seventh Commandment voted for Cleveland, he would be elected by 200,000 majority."

In one particular, few will quarrel with Mr. Hibben's asperity. In painting the social background against which Beecher emerges, he cannot use colors too dark. Beecher's career was made possible by the systematic prostitution of religion, philanthropy, politics—of every higher interest of mankind to commercial greed. Beecher's church in Brooklyn was a business venture, as much as Charles Honeyman's in London. His pulpit performance was the attraction which carried the price of pews to new highs at each annual auction. His name was an asset to the religious journals The Independent and later The Christian Union. He was a partner in a publishing firm of which the chief work was his "Life of Jesus the Christ." He had made his church a stronghold of Republicanism, and his place in the councils of the party was a prominent one. He was the patriot who, according to legend, had saved the union by disarming British hostility. Accordingly, when he stood on the precarious ragged edge to which his own extraordinary habits of paltering with evil and negotiating with consequences had led him, he represented too large an investment for society to let crash into the abyss. The interests of country, party, religion, morality, as well as a lot of hard cash, were tied up with his fate. The general attitude was expressed in the formula: "If Beecher is guilty I don't want to know it; he is too great a man to fall; he has too many interests involved in his position and success." And by the representatives of these interests, by B. F. Tracy and T. G. Shearman and Sam Wilkeson and W. M. Evarts, Beecher was held not only to falsehood, but to the blackest treachery, even in his own despite, even when death would have been a welcome end to his horrors. Mr. Hibben's interpretation of the phenomenon is perfectly sound. "In the world of fantasy in which he had dwelt so long—this new world, this American world—Henry Ward Beecher conceived the duty resting upon him as something transcending any mere personal consideration of his own moral comfort. He must set an example to the world of respectability, though it cost his immortal soul. 'The truth must not come out—think of the influence on society!' said the Hon. Benjamin F. Tracy."

The situation is one from which Ibsen might have made a drama. And the villain of the piece would have been that *congeries* of vested interests, Plymouth Church. Under the leadership of Tracy and Shearman, the church voted Theodore Tilton, Beecher's accuser, out of membership; it instituted a committee of five to bring in a report fulsomely exonerating their pastor, and mobbed the man who, with knowledge of all the facts, rose in the assembly to deny its truth; it expelled everyone who had taken any part against Beecher, including the man who had founded the church as an investment and brought Beecher from the West; it submitted to being cut off from fellowship with other Congregational churches rather than give up its vice. For that is what Beecher became to his church, and to the larger audience which he speedily gathered to his lectures throughout the country—a vicarious form of vice. It tempted the prurient to hear sacred love proclaimed by a prophet about whom gathered such a saga of profane love; to hear Hell abolished by a man for whom several of Dante's *bolgie* might be conceived as expectant. Doubtless Tracy and Evarts rejoiced in this increased power for good on the part of the man whom they had saved.

Henry Ward Beecher's career is a measure of the culture of his country in the period surrounding the Civil War. He was the great voice in the pulpit, as was Horace Greeley in the press. Both were pioneers in the art of advertising, and excelled in understanding the mass psychology of their countrymen. Both were led by self-confidence into egregious errors, and suffered for them. No two men in our history were ever so consistently belabored by satirists and cartoonists. In the language of the prize-ring, they were gluttons for punishment. And both showed marvelous recuperative powers. One great asset both had, in a sense of humor, which enabled them to stand up under the buffeting and come back with a counter-attack. Their vagaries passed easily into burlesque and added to their resources as entertainers. Both grew in greatness as the result of popular success; and both were, in a sense, destroyed by the public which made them. Nevertheless, both did sound service in liberating the American mind from limitations and inhibitions in religion and politics. Both might have complained

> They sneer at me for being all awry
> What! did the hand then of the potter shake?

But they were chosen vessels.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

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An English Professor Looks at Politics

The Mechanism of the Modern State, A Treatise on the Science and Art of Government, by Sir John A. R. Marriott. Two Vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1,191 pages. $15.

THE author of these volumes is a distinguished English scholar—a tutor and lecturer on Modern History and Political Science at Oxford. He has also been active in public life as a member of Parliament for the past ten years, and his work on the Bryce Second Chamber Conference, the National Expenditure Committee, and the Public Accounts Committee has given him an opportunity to study the English government at first hand. It is hard to believe that an author with this background could write a treatise on the science and art of government and ignore many of the most important scientific advances in that field. The production of two volumes on "The Mechanism of the Modern State," without mentioning the recent efforts to develop methods and criteria for testing that mechanism, calls for some explanation. Some of the best chapters in the book are on the English administrative system, but there is not a word on such critical problems as the maintenance of morale or the status of organizations of public employees. Several chapters are devoted to a discussion of the problem of a second chamber, but the author completely ignores the recent studies of the Canadian Senate, the American Senate, and even the British Parliament.

The explanation of this situation is found in the preface.

> The primary purpose of this book is to set forth the actual working of the English Constitution. Its method is mainly analytical; but no one can apprehend the genius of an historical Constitution from mere analysis. I have, therefore, traced the historical evolution of the principal organs of the Body Politic, both as a function in England and in the British Dominions.

It is evident that the author is concerned with the historical, the comparative, and, to a small degree, the analytical, methods in studying his subject. For many of his problems, no other techniques are available, but it is unfortunate that in some cases the more exact methods of psychology and statistics were not employed.

The results obtained by the study of historical data have proved somewhat disappointing. The first volume is devoted, for the most part, to a running survey of the constitutional development of typical democracies, such as Greece, Switzerland, and the United States, and the British Empire. Too frequently, the antiquarian interests of the author lead him to include material which seems of little practical value in the discussion of present-day political problems. Professor Marriott fails to make clear how the withdrawal of the King from the Privy Council, the distinction between laws and decrees in the Athenian constitution, the details of the Napoleonic Constitutions of Switzerland, or even the American Revolution, help the modern student in solving his political difficulties. These subjects may be exceedingly interesting in themselves, but the light they throw on questions of present-day government is not dazzling.

Not all of the historical data is irrelevant, however. In a few cases, the verdict of history is found to praise or condemn some part of the governmental machine. Professor Marriott is a Tory, and, furthermore, he desires the reform of the House of Lords. Believing that the powers of the second chamber should be increased, he looks to history to support his position. He discovers that a unicameral Parliament failed to calm the turbulent forces in Cromwell's day; he reads that the passions of the French Revolution were not stilled by the single chamber; he learns that no country of first-rate importance is now governed by a one-house legislature. He concludes, therefore, that such a legislative organization is inherently pernicious. This is a splendid example of the dangers involved in the historical or comparative methods. The incidents and cases one does not like always can be ignored. Sir John waves aside as unimportant, or else completely overlooks, the numerous unicameral constitutions framed since the World War, the imposing experience of most of the Canadian provinces, and the persistent tendency of municipalities toward a single-chambered council. One wonders that he should have neglected to use the horrible example of the Congress under the Articles of Confederation to bolster up his case. Perhaps if his instances were more numerous, and if they were not easily duplicated by a much larger number of bicameral failures under similar conditions, one might believe that, in times of great constitutional stress, two chambers are better than one. Fortunately, we do not need to frame our government to guarantee perfect operation in an earthquake. The great run of business requires only ordinary day-by-day efficiency.

The second volume is much superior to the first. The manuscript of it was evidently prepared more recently, and with much greater care and deliberation. The first volume contains abundant evidence of haste and inadequate revision. Since the manuscript for it was prepared, the Appropriation Committees of the House of Representatives have been consolidated, a budget system has been instituted in the national government, a number of states have made sweeping administrative reorganizations, and a tariff commission has been established. There is no mention of any of these changes, and even the introduction of woman suffrage is relegated to a two-line footnote. In his study of the American government, the author is frank to admit that only secondary sources were used. It is unfortunate that he did not make a closer personal investigation of our governmental system. His words of praise would have been much more valuable were they not the conclusion to a chapter replete with errors. Persons familiar with our political structure do not blunder into declaring that a Senator has been impeached, that the party caucus "is all-powerful, and indeed indispensable" in Congress, that the recall of judicial decisions is actually in use, or that Congress meets nearly the whole year round. With his particular interest in administrative organization, it is surprising that Professor Marriott does not even mention any of the quasi-legislative commissions of either the federal or state governments.

There are three portions of the work of great value. One of these deals with the British Imperial relations. The chapters on the "Organization of the Empire" and the "Machinery for Imperial Coöperation" are by far the most satisfactory accounts we have of this important topic. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the material was in shape for the printer before the recent Imperial Conference, but the loss is more apparent than real, for the Conference's chief work was to give definite status to a situation already

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existing in fact. The chapters on the executive and administrative organs of the government are very illuminating with respect to the English government. There is a splendid discussion of the position of the monarch, an interesting account of the cabinet secretariat, and a worthwhile, if somewhat tedious, survey of the various departments of the administrative machine. The third portion of the work which deserves special mention is the appendix. Here may be found a number of illustrative documents of considerable interest and importance, including two forms of summons, examples of orders in council, documents illustrating financial procedure, etc.

In spite of these valuable portions, the volumes, on the whole, are a disappointment. One is constantly pointed with pride to certain features of the English governmental structure with which the author agrees, or is asked to view with alarm innovations which run counter to his partisan prejudices. Functional representation, syndicalism, and the initiative are anathema, but the cabinet system, the monarchy, and judicial procedure are blessed. This continual infection of even the best chapters with pious prejudices, historical irrelevancies, and a heavy style reduces the usefulness of the work. In a peculiar way, "The Mechanism of the Modern State" is more revealing of Sir John Marriott than it is of the English Constitution. And not the least revealing comment is his remark, in concluding the discussion of the party system, that perhaps the stupidity of the English people has something to do with the success of their government!

RODNEY L. MOTT.

What Price Living?

The Cost of Living in New York City, 1926. New York: National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. $2.

COST-of-living budgets issue from time to time from federal bureaus, foundations and welfare groups, usually in the wake of minimum-wage agitation or some industrial dispute, but too frequently the point of view governing such studies has been that of "How little can they get along on?" In 1926, it would seem that a more expansive gesture might be made.

Those who, misled by the jacket blurb on "The Cost of Living in New York City, 1926," look for that gesture in this report of the National Industrial Conference Board, are doomed to disappointment. The jacket proclaims this to be "a unique study of the cost of maintaining a *fair, American standard* of living in New York City." It is probably the most thorough-going survey of living costs in the five boroughs ever undertaken. It aims to give the employing class of this city the data upon which to base its wage standards, and it assumes serious social significance from the fact that it is upon such recommendations as these that "liberal" manufacturers justify their claims to generosity in industrial relations. But the intelligent subway guard, opening the book at random on a sample budget, would be justified in exclaiming, "Whaddya mean—fair?"

The debutante daughter of one of the national manufacturers supporting these researches would have difficulty in purchasing a pair of brocade slippers for the $12.80 which this report declares to be the weekly amount upon which the factory girl, bearing her share of the family expenses, can maintain a fair American standard of living. The following samples from the clothing budget offered her will give some indication of just how she can do it:

1 coat	$14.90	2 pairs cotton stockings	.56
1 wool dress	6.90	2 pairs silk stockings	2.08
1 silk dress	8.32	2 union suits	2.38
1 pair oxfords	4.75	1 winter hat	2.91

Other items, including cotton bloomers, cotton dress, rubbers, a pair of fabric gloves and a corset, bring the yearly total to $85.58.

For the office worker who must dress better, an annual clothing budget of $106.77 is offered. She may have four pairs of silk stockings, a suit and two pairs of gloves. But the cost of the individual items is the same. This budget is below the "health and decency standard" calculated by the Bureau of Municipal Research in 1922 and that of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1918.

In computing the cost of living for the single woman, the Board assumes that the factory girl almost invariably lives at home, that she contributes her share (one-fourth) to the family expenses. Granting for the moment that the actual maintenance cost of the individual is really cut by such arrangements, no account is taken in this budget of the probable 20 percent of working girls in New York City who do not live at home, nor of those who, living at home, are the sole or partial support of parents or other relatives. The study made by the Federal Woman's Bureau in 1923 on "The Share of the Wage Earning Women in Family Support" indicates the importance and size of this group. The employer who computes his wages on this living-at-home basis cannot take into consideration the girl who, living at home today, quarrels with her family tonight and starts out on her own tomorrow.

For the office worker, a weekly allowance of $19.34 is commended. This is nearer the computations of other cost-of-living surveys, and permits of living alone and a slightly larger wardrobe. Undoubtedly a girl can "get along," as thousands do get along, on this weekly allowance, but what provision does it make for that third inalienable right of American citizenship—the pursuit of happiness?

Both the industrial and the clerical girl are awarded twenty cents a week for recreation. A Sunday night bus ride, a weekly trip to the neighborhood movie, would exhaust this allowance. It may be argued that the girl's recreational need is met out of the pocket of her boy friend, but unfortunately the boy friend's budget is as limited as her own. The Board recommends $18.72 a week if he is an industrial or $22.75 if he is a clerical worker. In both cases, the recreational allowance is forty cents. Only by the sacrifice of his two packages of cigarettes, or the misappropriation of some other allowance, can he treat her to a dance or a Coney Island thrill. As a rule, of course, he will cut down on his breakfast, he will neglect the needed trip to the dentist, or, as a last resort, "double up" in some cubicle to reduce his rent. This tendency of the young, underpaid worker to sacrifice necessities for more fun and better clothes is even more marked among the girls, and may contribute to the fact that the tuberculosis rate for girls between fifteen and twenty has not shown the marked decrease which has taken place for other classes. Youth will be served, in Hell's Kitchen as on Park Avenue, with laughter, adventure and what it considers beauty. The average girl worker believes that her one key to a brighter and happier world lies in her personal appearance, and our national religion, advertising, does all it can to strengthen that conviction.

The larger part of the survey is devoted to the cost of living for families in New York City. Rent and food costs are deduced from data collected, not on the lower East Side

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with its probable Southern European and Levantine standards, but as far as possible from those districts where "native white persons of German or Irish descent live." Here are the conclusions:

An industrial worker with a wife and one child can live in Manhattan on $26.45 a week; with two children, $32.41; with three children, $36.16. Wages for clerical workers are about three dollars higher in each case. As is frankly admitted in the text of the report, there is nothing in these budgets for emergencies, for vacations, for unemployment, for savings of any kind. Presumably, these are not essential to the "fair, American standard."

It may be said in defense of the National Industrial Conference Board, which represents the great employing agencies of the nation, that it offers a higher standard of life than that which thousands of workers are now enjoying. Many girls in candy and paper-box factories are making less than $12.80 a week, and manage to exist. Crowded into both east- and west-side tenements are families which get along on smaller allowances than the budgets given above. They do it by crowding in wretched houses devoid of heat or proper plumbing, by eating inferior food, by putting the children to work as soon as possible, and by economies which reduce life to a dull routine of eating, sleeping and working. Life may be maintained on surprisingly little, even in New York City.

But it is not of these semi-submerged groups that the Conference Board is speaking. Primarily, this is a cost-of-living study for those up-standing natives of Nordic descent about whom Fourth-of-July orators wax eloquent.

Living? Perhaps. But what about liberty and the pursuit of happiness? LILLIAN SYMES.

Reminiscences of a Stage-Lover

Annals of the New York Stage, by George C. D. Odell. New York: Columbia University Press. Two Vols. Vol. I, To 1798. 496 pages. Vol. II, 1798-1821. 643 pages. $17.50.

THESE eleven hundred-odd quarto pages are presented in the court dress of large type and wide margins and heavy paper with abundant illustrations, for lovers of the tradition of the stage by one of their own kind. They should be perused on book-rests from the depths of easy chairs by elderly gentlemen in dinner clothes, gentlemen who could be followed by elderly male servants with old-fashioned brushes and dust-pans—vacuum cleaners barred—to sweep up the abundant yield from the ragged edges of the sumptuous pages.

The volumes, says the author, grew out of a love for the theater, and are offered as an effort to repay the debt of pleasure incurred in many years of play-going. They are written in full consciousness of Seilhamer's monumental but incomplete treatment of the American theater, which was carried only to 1797, of Dunlap's gossipy account to 1833, of the joint work of Ireland and Brown, which chronicle the New York stage up to 1900, and of the later and (Mr. Odell does not say) superficial volumes of Hornblow on the whole story for the whole country.

Mr. Odell feels, and rightly, that there is still place for a work that should include "discussion of the social and economic conditions amid which the theater was established and fostered here" as well as of "the changes in taste and style, on or off the stage, that modified so powerfully playing and play-going from age to age." So he devotes the first volume to the period covered by Seilhamer, and the second to twelve years short of the period covered by Dunlap. And, with dramatic activity really in fairly full swing from 1821 on, he will do well on the same scale to conclude the annals in anything short of a round dozen tomes.

Mr. Odell is described on the title page, and, of course, is known widely, as Professor of Dramatic Literature in Columbia University, and author of "Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving." In the collection of his data he has used the methods of the research student, sparing no pains to unearth every sort of original source. But in his employment of the material thus unearthed, he has written not as the trained investigator, but as a collector of picturesque anecdote and personalia. He is not content with the mere "records of past events" transcribed by such documentarians as Ireland or Brown or, preëminently, Seilhamer, but he does not rise himself to anything that could be fairly called "discussion of social and economic conditions" or genuine discussion of "changes in taste and style on and off the stage."

Instead, he has done something interesting as a literary feat in so identifying himself with a remote period, known to him only through documents, that every detail of it has become personal to him. He knows the plays, is familiar with the theaters, has his likes and dislikes for the theatrical folk, takes sides in their bickerings, rejoices in their successes, and suffers with them in their defeats and losses. To do this is a gift for an historian, if he remains an historian; but Mr. Odell, lover of the stage, is overwhelmed by his materials, loses power of generalization and sense of values, and calls cheerily and excitedly to the reader as he half swims and is half swept along on a swirling tide of circumstance.

"Was there an army mixture in the cast of 'The Orphan,' played at Bayly's benefit, May 18, 1767? I wish I could answer my own question. . . . Perhaps my guess will strike the reader as 'easy'; it is, though I was years in arriving at it." "Dunlap, just before this, had done a foolish thing; he had allowed Cooper to withdraw. If I had been Cooper, I should have acted in the same way." "Reader, I know I weary thee; but thy descendants will wish my book to be a repository of information, hard and knotty, mayhap, but solid." "Ponteach gives us as ridiculous illustration of the custom [of changing sets with actors on the stage] as I have found. . . . That Ponteach was not played is a matter of no importance."

The last of these passages is representative of the method pursued in the work. It comes toward the end of a chapter dealing with theatrical events of 1767-1768. This is given to *seriatim* discussion of performances with casts, though not all casts for all performances. Then follow comments on staging, lives of actors, and miscellaneous entertainments. In the midst of it this reference to Ponteach, with its final dismissal. Yet, to the student of American stage history, the fact of the non-production of this play seems to be of much more importance than the following page of speculation on whether young Lord Rosehill married Miss Cheer; for it raises the very interesting question as to whether a play in criticism of English colonizing methods and in praise of French methods could find a manager or an audience in America within four years of the close of the Seven Years War.

Mr. Odell has attempted to ride two horses: to attract the lover of the theater and to satisfy the seeker after facts; but his interest and his success must evidently be in and with the casual reader. He has indubitably made the old period live again, but it is the same old chaotic thing that

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it was to the people in it. He has not equalled Seilhamer as a documentarian in the completeness and system with which he presents his data. The seeker after facts cannot turn with certainty to him for specific information; what he seeks may have been omitted. And the reader who wants a generalized interpretation of the past finds only casual observations. The book is written in the manner that might happily prevail in an hour's lecture, but that seems insistently jaunty in a voluminous work.

As the other volumes come along, as it is to be hoped they will, and as the data accumulates into a stream which threatens inundation, it is to be hoped that Mr. Odell, *raconteur*, will allow more of his professorial self to control both the management and the presentation of his material. For there is no doubt that he is the preëminent authority in this rich field.

PERCY H. BOYNTON.

Effective Voting

Proportional Representation, by Clarence G. Hoag and George H. Hallett, Jr. New York: The Macmillan Company. 546 pages. $5.

THE transition which modern democracies have made from simple to more complex forms of organization has brought a severe malformation of the way in which the public will is expressed. In such direct democracies as the forest cantons of Switzerland and the town-meetings of New England, not only could all points of view be presented, but each received that degree of popular support which it could command among the voters. But in the huge popular aggregations of today, direct assemblies have necessarily given way to elected bodies, and the printed page and not the orator's voice has become the cement which holds democracies together. But these elected bodies are representative only in name. The crucial error which was made in their selection was in dividing the political areas up into a number of election districts, in each of which it was only necessary, in order that a candidate be elected, that he receive a majority or a plurality of the votes cast. It thus became possible completely to exclude large minorities from representation, because of the fact that they were scattered through these various election districts. Thus in Pennsylvania, where the Democratic party normally polls about one-third of the vote, there have frequently been years when it has been unable to elect a single Congressman of the thirty-six apportioned to that state. Nor do the Republican voters of North Carolina, who form 40 percent of the electorate of that state, have any better fortune in returning men of their choice. This virtual disenfranchisement of large groups of voters is widespread, and is perhaps most strikingly demonstrated in the composition of the present House of Commons, where the followers of the Liberal party, although forming nearly 30 percent of the voters, are yet only able to elect less than 10 percent of the members.

But while the chronic under-representation of minorities is generally characteristic of our supposedly representative bodies, majorities are also frequently suppressed, and the control instead given to minorities. Thus where there are more than two candidates, the one who commands the plurality may frequently be, as was the case with Wilson in 1912, one whom the voters would not prefer to one or more of the other candidates if these could be considered separately.

Minority rule is also secured by the familiar method of gerrymandering. By shuffling the constituencies, one party can coop up into a few districts the localities where its rival has large majorities, and lay out the remaining districts in such a way as to secure small majorities in each of them for itself, and with those majorities obtain control over the legislative body.

Election by plurality leads also to exaggerated swings of the political pendulum and to the exertion of undue influence by the groups which are supposed to hold the balance of power. Popular opinion rarely changes with rapidity, but the composition of our legislative bodies frequently does; since a minority can be changed into a majority by the shifting of a very small percentage of the voters, and be transformed from an under- to an over-represented group. Thus the shift of only 10 percent of the voters in the British elections of 1906 increased the proportion of Liberal members in the Commons from one-third to three-fourths. Such rapid changes, with the impermanence of political careers which necessarily results, have given a greater appearance of fickleness to our democracies than is rightfully theirs. The necessity of winning the support of the groups which can thus tip the scales of power leads also to frenzied and frequently secret efforts to meet their wishes which were well characterized by Lowell in his couplet:

> Every fool knows that a man represents,
> Not the fellers that sent him, but them on the fence.

But perhaps the worst feature of the present method is that it makes it as difficult as possible for able men to be elected, and places a premium upon mediocrity. In order to be elected, a candidate must, above all, be able to hold together a majority. The ablest political figures in modern life are, however, the leaders of specific economic, religious, or propagandist groups who, because of this very fact, are generally unacceptable to the other groups, and hence are virtually debarred from holding office. The men who are chosen are instead those who have not given offense to any strong group, and who, in consequence, tend either to be nonentities or trimmers. The possibility of electing good men is still further lessened by the fact that, once the two major factions have nominated their candidates, the independent voters are generally afraid to put forward or support any third candidate, however worthy, lest this should serve to split the vote of their second choice, and thus really help to elect the candidate whom they want most of all to defeat. The voter is then placed in the ridiculous and humiliating position of not daring to vote for the man he likes best, lest he thereby help to elect the man he likes least. Our system of voting forces a very large proportion of the voters, therefore, to confine themselves to a perpetual series of second choices, and the disgust which the normal voter feels for such a miserable set of choices, together with the hopelessness which a minority party comes to feel, is in itself one of the major causes why so large a percentage of our voters do not take the trouble to go to the polls.

It is small wonder, therefore, if our legislative bodies represent almost the lowest common denominator of the interests, intelligence and decency of the electorate. Public measures are passed without the adequate presentation of important points of view, and the desires of large minorities are ruthlessly overridden by an exaggerated numerical majority, instead of being integrated into a common policy. Large groups feel themselves almost completely under-represented, and are driven instead either to the support of extra-political action or, what is worse, to an indifference about political matters which is in startling contrast to the eager expectations which were entertained by Jefferson, Mill and by John Bright.

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Happily, these abuses of democracy are not inherent, but they largely can be cured, as Messrs. Hoag and Hallett demonstrate in this carefully written book, by the adoption of proportional representation. The technique by which this is accomplished is simple. As a first step, a number of single-membered districts are combined. Each political group is then given representation within the number of representatives to be elected from this district, according to the percentage of the votes which it can secure. There are two major methods of accomplishing this: namely, by the list system, which is used in nearly all the democracies of continental Europe, and by the single transferable vote or the "Hare system." Under the former, the voter marks his ballot for a given party and not for individual candidates. The seats are then apportioned among the parties according to the relative percentage of the votes secured by each. The candidates chosen from each party are generally in the order of their position on the party list. This gives proportional representation to the parties, but it does not give the voter a full opportunity to select the candidates whom he himself desires. Even under the ingenious modification devised by Victor d'Hondt, those who have been placed high on the party list have a great advantage, so that the power of the party machine is not broken.

Under the single transferable vote, the voters mark their ballots for the various candidates in the order of their preference. Each vote, however, is finally only counted for one candidate. If a candidate secures a sufficient number of first choices to satisfy the quota, he is declared elected. This quota is the smallest number of votes which each of the successful candidates can receive, and, in a district from which seven members are to be elected, will be just over one-eighth of the number of votes cast. If a candidate receives more first choices than those required to elect, the unneeded ballots are transferred to the second choices, either by a process of sampling or by an arithmetically exact method. The lowest candidates are then eliminated in order, and their ballots transferred to their next effective choices. This process is continued until the successful candidates are found. Nearly every voter can thus help to elect someone, and each can vote for his first choice without any fear that he is thereby splitting the vote and permitting the man he likes least to win. For, if one's vote fails to elect one's first choice, it is counted to help the second, and if not the second, then the third. But since the later choices are only counted if the earlier choices are not elected or already have a surplus, the system does not operate, as preferential voting does, to make the subsequent choices a partial offset to the earlier ones. The instructions which a voter thus gives on his ballot are precisely analogous to those which a father gives to his son when he sends him for a paper. If he can buy a copy of the Times, then well and good, but if not the Times, then the World, and if not the World, then the Herald.

Such a system as this, which in this country is spreading rapidly among the larger Ohio municipalities, would make our representative bodies true condensers of public opinion. The basis of representation would, therefore, be one of common desires and aspirations, and not merely the accident of common residence, as under our system, or a common occupation, as in Russia.

The two chief objections which are advanced against proportional representation are that it would result in bloc government and, by preventing any group from securing a majority, that it would result in a series of quickly shifting governments. The first objection can be briefly answered by pointing out that we already have bloc government, but that the intrigues for power go on largely in secret. Proportional representation would bring the groups out into the open, and permit the issues to be discussed and the adjustments made in the light of day. The second objection is more weighty. If the civil service is, however, assured of permanence of tenure, it is not necessarily an evil for cabinets to change rapidly and for coalitions to shift. An adjustment to issues as they arise will probably be made much more speedily than when exaggerated party majorities obtain. But a new technique of politics is needed for parties, particularly those with a class bias, at once to coöperate in coalitions and yet to retain purity of principle. But while proportional representation is not a cure-all, and while it will create some new problems, it is one of the most hopeful devices for cleansing democracies of some of their patent faults and of enabling our representative bodies to catch up, at least, with the desires and interests of the voters whom they are supposed to represent.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

Shakespeare (Himself)

Shakespeare Studies: Historical and Comparative in Method, by Elmer Edgar Stoll. New York: The Macmillan Company. 502 pages. $4.

Shakespeare and "Demi-Science": Papers on Elizabethan Topics, by Felix E. Schelling. Philadelphia: The Press of the University of Pennsylvania. 221 pages. $2.50.

Shakespeare of Stratford: A Handbook for Students, by Tucker Brooke. New Haven: Yale University Press. 177 pages. $1.50.

Shakespeare, Actor-Poet, as Seen by His Associates, Explained by Himself, and Remembered by the Succeeding Generation, by Clara Longworth de Chambrun, Doctor of the University of Paris. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 357 pages. $3.

The Lion and the Fox: The Role of the Hero in the Plays of Shakespeare, by Wyndham Lewis. New York: Harper and Brothers. 326 pages. $4.

THE first and the last of these books are the most provocative, though for different reasons. Mr. Lewis is amusing and stimulating, but hard to read. He is only too able to recur to a point; he never sticks to one, not even to his favorites, the influence of Machiavelli and the fallacy of Shakespeare's impersonalism. As one of his reviewers has said, this critic can start more hares in a paragraph than most writers can in a book. For half, at least, of the hares, read wild geese, and you have a fair notion of Mr. Lewis' occasionally brilliant but random prowess. His less attractive suggestions spring from his failure to grasp the strictly historical method urged by Professor Stoll, whom he appears not to have read. His book lacks both index and bibliography.

That Professor Stoll's contributions have so long remained buried in the various philological journals has helped postpone the day of general enlightenment on many delicate problems of character analysis. Professor Kittredge's little volume, "Shakspere," is still incomparably the best statement of the modern approach to the plays; but thus far he has chosen to influence Shakespearean scholarship chiefly through his pupils rather than in books. For many years Professor Stoll has been on the firing-line, pressing the attack on the romantic criticism of the last century. More often even than Professor Schuecking, he has headed the shock troops on the sector in which they have been winning and consolidating a rational ground for the examination of Shakespeare's art.

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To the amateur, still diverted by the beautiful phrases of the romantic and the pseudo-profundities of the metaphysical critics, the ruthlessness of Mr. Stoll's attack, and his zeal for the occupation of hazardous positions on the extreme flank, will come as a shock indeed. But scholars are now pretty generally agreed that Hamlet was neither mad nor vacillating; that Shylock was meant not as hero but as villain (Mr. Stoll thinks even as comic villain); that Shakespeare was an Elizabethan poet-playwright and not a contemporary psychologist, philosopher, or sociologist; and that many of his characters, situations, and ideas are now understandable only when we are able to recognize their significance as shown and spoken in the theater to an audience of Renaissance Englishmen.

"What Woodrow Wilson Means to Me" is announced as the title for a prize essay contest, the winner of which will receive more money than Shakespeare got for King Lear. A good deal of the most quoted criticism of the plays might be entitled "What Shakespeare Means to Me." The answer may be well worth the hearing, if the writer happens to be a Coleridge. But the modern student cares more about what Shakespeare really was, and most about how he intended his plays to be taken. Not that there was any doubt in their own time. Three hundred years have veiled their idiom, mangled their structure by senseless cutting for the stage, and obscured the dramatist's plain intention by clouds of "creative" criticism.

To change the figure, Professor Stoll has set up one of the chief landmarks on the long trail of Shakespearean commentary. Whether all his conclusions are correct is not the main question. If there are few who do not substantially accept his Hamlet and his Shylock, there are more who will not subscribe without reservations to his Falstaff, or to his rejection of the Restoration comedy of manners as a true picture of the times. But that, although the mere taking the road of historical and comparative method is no insurance of arriving at truth, it remains none the less the *only* road by which we can even hope to reach a complete understanding of Shakespeare's intention, there can be no doubt. Professor Stoll's reputation, already great among scholars, is certain to be widely extended by this book. It is charmingly written: despite the great learning it displays, the impressive scope of its author's reading in the dramatic literatures of all Europe, there is nothing heavy about Mr. Stoll's manner.

"Shakespeare of Stratford" is another students' handbook, less inclusive of background material than some of the others, but distinguished by its adherence to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documentary evidence. Besides the seventy citations of biographical fact, important features are the chief contemporary allusions to the plays; tables of the early Quarto editions, sources, and probable dates of composition; and excellent notes on metrical development, printing and theaters. Once more Professor Brooke gives us a really helpful book.

Professor Schelling makes a selection of a dozen from his many papers, addresses, and reviews, during the last thirty years. Naturally, they vary both in importance and in tone, though not widely in subject, since all are concerned with either Shakespeare or other figures of the English Renaissance. The author's high attainments as one of the leading Elizabethan scholars of our time make his opinions always worth knowing, even though, as criticism, his latest volume is perhaps not quite so rigorous as the fashion now favors.

"Shakespeare, Actor-Poet," is a queer blend of platitude and error. It is quite as pedestrian as a decent piece of scholarship ought to be. The early biographers, if they may be called such, are all taken into account. But the author exhibits no scholarly competence in handling them. The book is, in fact, less refreshing than any book on Shakespeare has any right to be, without the saving virtue of being a contribution or even a reliable compilation. The writer repeatedly confuses the values of Elizabethan or Jacobean evidence, mid-seventeenth-century hearsay, and Restoration or Queen Anne tradition. Much that is only or less than likelihood is stated as fact. Numerous passages from the plays are seriously cited in support of biographical assumptions. Several characters are rashly identified as persons Shakespeare knew. An impressive, if somewhat eclectic, list of authorities is given at the end of each chapter, but the writer seldom substantiates her assertions by specific references. There are a good many really bad blunders, such as the statement that the actors Lowin and Taylor survived into the Restoration and were hired by D'Avenant. The author shows no familiarity with recent Shakespearean criticism, and little with recent Shakespearean scholarship. She frequently misquotes even the lines of the plays. She exhibits a curious insensitiveness to poetry when she takes Shakespeare's confession that he has made himself "a motley to the view" to mean that he had acted the roles of the Fools. Her English style is not attractive—"lugubrious" is an unfortunate adjective for Dame Quickly's account of Falstaff's death. One could go on indefinitely. In short, as lively biography the book falls flat, and as scholarship it is hopelessly amateurish.

HAZELTON SPENCER.

Michael Collins

Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland, by Piaras Beaslai. New York: Harper and Brothers. Two Vols. 942 pages. $10.

THE revolutionary effort in Ireland which eventuated in the treaty of 1921 was, in the words of Lord Balfour, "steady, systematic and ruthless." Its steadiness was due to Arthur Griffiths' Sinn Fein program; its system was largely the work of one man—Michael Collins. Others in that and in previous revolutionary efforts had qualities of fearlessness, devotion, singleness of purpose. Collins had all these qualities, and he had another quality which made him an extraordinary figure in an Irish revolutionary movement—an interest in and a mastery over detail.

This man, who died when he was just over thirty-one, and who was only a little over three years in public affairs, would have been, in a European army, a great Chief of Staff, and, in American business, an efficiency expert who would have filled his office with go-getters. When he was killed in the deplorable ambush in August, 1922, he was head of the Provisional Government in Ireland, he was commander of the military forces at the disposal of that government, and he was Minister of Finance. He dealt with more than all these affairs. I once asked one of the ministers of the Provisional Government if they had had to form an inner cabinet. "Michael was the inner cabinet," he said. "He made the decisions and gave the instructions." But it was as Chief of the Intelligence Department for an outlawed and proscribed legislature that he did the work that counted in the Irish struggle. He helped to destroy the English government in Ireland by depriving it of its eyes. He got more spies and better spies than Dublin Castle; he made it dangerous to be informative in the precincts of the Castle and the Vice-regal Lodge. Realizing

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how essential an Intelligence Service was to the revolutionary movement and to its enemies, he wrote:

> England could always reinforce her army. She could replace every soldier that she lost. But there were others indispensable for her purpose which were not so easily replaced. To paralyze the British machine it was necessary to strike at individuals. Without her spies England was helpless. It was only by means of their accumulated and accumulating knowledge that the British machine could operate. . . . Spies are not so ready to step into the shoes of their departed confederates as are soldiers to fill up the front line in honorable battle. And, even when the new spy stepped into the shoes of the old one, he could not step into the old one's knowledge. . . . We struck at individuals, and by so doing we cut the lines of communication, and we shook their morale.

He was always seeking for information, for data, and he was seeking for it, too, beyond the battle line. While the turmoil of the Civil War was still on, he wrote to a colleague in London: "Would you please go to the Swiss Ambassador, and inform him you are acting for the Irish government, who are wishful of sending a party of four experienced officers to make a report on the Swiss Army System for the Irish government." And the information he gained he was able to make part of himself. The English sculptor to whom he gave sittings told me that he noticed that Collins' understanding of sculpture grew from day to day.

He was an extraordinarily energized man. A scholar-friend of mine who saw him at Griffiths' funeral said that he radiated power; that one felt that, by touching him, one would gain in vitality. For over two years there was hardly a day, hardly a night, in which he was not in danger of meeting a violent end. In that time, Ireland was becoming more and more aware of the fact that in the partially smothered war that was being waged he was the most notable of the champions. And yet a very small part of the Dublin public had ever looked upon him. When the truce came, and Dail Eireann was able to go into public session, "crowds now fought with one another to obtain a glimpse of the mysterious man who, through two years of war and terror, had been a legend in Ireland, and a 'bogey-man' in England. Many were surprised to find a cheery-looking, smiling, unassuming young Irishman in place of the romantic figure they had pictured to themselves."

"The Making of a New Ireland and Michael Collins" would have been a more fitting title for Piaras Beaslai's book than "Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland," for it is the work of a publicist and not a biographer: the writer has been more able to put into order and explain a series of events than create and develop a character for us. And, as the work of a publicist upon a salient epoch in Irish history, the book is important. It is securely documented; it has in it something over and above documents—it has atmosphere, the feeling of the situation, the tempers of the men who took hold of affairs in Ireland in strenuous years.

Of course, a complaint will be made against the book that the writer has not treated various individuals and groups fairly—the Irish Parliamentary party and Mr. Redmond, the Dublin Castle administration and Sir Hamar Greenwood, the later Republican party and Eamon De Valera, Cathal Brugha, and Erskine Childers—these groups and these men are noted and described by a partisan of the other side. Such complaints, however, need not be a matter of undue concern to the writer of "Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland"; he can very well say with Bernard Shaw, "Who am I that I should be just?" The book is partisan; it is written by a man who fought and schemed to overthrow the British government in Ireland; it is written by a man who took a very definite side with regard to the treaty which Griffiths and Collins gave their lives to uphold.

The fact that the book is long, the fact that it is partisan, takes only a little from its value and interest as a record of the making of a new Ireland. Its great defect, to my mind, is in its lack of perspective—even of Irish perspective. It is as local, almost, as an Irish provincial newspaper. And Piaras Beaslai has the knack of making its localness stare at us from every page; he mentions men by their Christian names as in an Irish gathering; he mentions them by the forms of their Christian names used by their cronies. "Cathal Brugha, then Chief of Staff of the volunteers, went secretly to England to make arrangements for reprisals in that country if conscription were enforced in Ireland. Dick Mulcahy, as Deputy Chief of Staff, took his place." By naming important officers in this way, he manages to give the suggestion of a happening in a Munster branch of the Gaelic League.

And now that he has written this book, Piaras Beaslai ought to write a life of Michael Collins, a life that would be intimate, that would have in it the personality of the man whose life became a legend in his own day. In it he should do what, apparently, he shrank from doing in the present volume—give his own feeling, his own estimate of Collins. He was Collins' devoted friend. When he came to write, he became afraid of being emotional, of being personal. He strove to make himself an official recorder. The book he has produced will not stand in the way of a real biography of Michael Collins.

PADRAIC COLUM.

Such Stuff as Dreams

The Road to Xanadu, A Study in the Ways of the Imagination, by John Livingston Lowes. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 639 pages. $6.

SOME years ago, Professor Brandl, a distinguished Coleridgian, wrote that, hereafter, a scholar who wished really to contribute anything valuable to our understanding of a particular author would himself have to read everything that this author had read. This is virtually what Professor Lowes has done with regard to the Coleridge of 1798. It was no easy task, for Coleridge once described himself as a "library cormorant" and announced that he had read "about everything." Professor Lowes has pursued his clues with a contagious enthusiasm that most often communicates itself to the reader. On the rare occasions when it fails to do so, he will perhaps be annoyed by an over-lush, almost cloying allusiveness, and may be tempted to apply to it the adjective Lowell once used of Keats. It is over-languaged.

Professor Lowes has tried to reëstablish the content of Coleridge's subconscious mind, the images and recollections with which it was stored, and to discover as the result of what experiences and stimuli the two poems, "The Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan," were evoked. He could not have made a more promising choice. The difficulty with most studies of the subconscious mind is that they leave too much in the dubious realm of conjecture. Here there were abundant sign-posts and possibilities of "check-up." Wherever Professor Lowes feels that an incident or image or

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phrase has been borrowed, he has proved beyond cavil that the source was known to Coleridge. He has proved, also, that the sources of "The Ancient Mariner" and "Kubla Khan" were substantially the same, though "The Ancient Mariner" is an almost perfect example of deliberate, carefully planned creation, whereas "Kubla Khan" underwent no conscious process of construction and virtually wrote itself. It would be impossible to praise too highly the unerring, the almost uncanny tact and judgment shown by Professor Lowes in tracing the genesis of "The Ancient Mariner" from its inception in Cruikshank's dream and Wordworth's suggestion, through all the phases of its elaboration. The phrasing and imagery were drawn from voyagers like Purchas, Martens and Dampier. These, with additions, account also for the imagery of "Kubla Khan."

In one of Coleridge's letters he tells us: "I resemble the Duchess of Kingston who masqueraded as 'Eve before the Fall' in flesh-colored silk." This was not true of that early Coleridge, "to turgid ode and tumid stanza dear." It was true in the sense that Coleridge was never naïve. If, in "The Ancient Mariner," his speech and vocabulary achieve an almost natural simplicity, it is because they are there steeped in the lore and language of Bristol sailors.

It was in 1798, over a volume of "Purchas, His Pilgrimage," that Coleridge fell asleep and lapsed into that richly imaged opium dream which is "Kubla Khan." If the language differs, it is because it comes here more directly from the voyagers and by the process which Coleridge himself once termed "a streaming continuum of passive association." In the process of giving us this unexpectedly rich presentment of the poet's subconscious mind, Professor Lowes incidentally settles a number of cardinal problems of Coleridge scholarship and criticism. He has proved beyond a doubt that "Kubla Khan," as we have it, is not the revision of an earlier draft. The reputed evidence for this belief Professor Lowes has demolished with characteristic thoroughness. If "Kubla Khan" is an opium dream, the sources of the imagery are independent of the drug.

It is not too much to say that Professor Lowes has given us a volume which is a model of its kind. We can hardly hope to have a study of this character conducted more intelligently or carried farther. It is a document of first importance on the psychology of the subconscious mind. Where so much has been given, it is ungracious to ask for more. But Professor Lowes at times seems to promise to unriddle the mystery of creative genius, though this promise is usually no sooner made than withdrawn. He does, in his concluding chapter, tell us, however, that "in linking 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' with the Odyssey through the ways of the imagination which underlie them both, I have had far more than a passing argument in mind." This argument he promises to develop in another volume. Until it appears, I must remain doubtful. The associative processes which took place in Coleridge's mind are quite possibly not different in kind from those in Homer's, or, for that matter, in Professor Lowes' reveries, or in a conversation between friends. Some stimulus starts them. There is a confluence of associative streams. When we have traced them to their sources we have, however, provided nothing which will assist the literary critic or lay reader in formulating a judgment on the excellence of the resultant poem. It is dangerous to assume, in the light of modern scholarship, that Homer was altogether naïve, and the epic dialect which he used seems to indicate a previous history of literary elaboration. It may, however, still be true that there are capital differences between Homer's conscious aims and, therefore, between his creative processes and those of Coleridge, who was certainly less naïve. However, it is certain that Homer believed in many "facts" which modern scholars are no longer content to accept. We may omit the question of his gods and whether or not he smiled when he had Zeus feast with the Ethiopians. In any case, to Homer, Ulysses was King of Ithaca. A group of scholars have contended that, in this, Homer was hopelessly mistaken. They say Ulysses was not an exiled king, he was only a storm myth, and his black cap is the cap of clouds of the homeless storm wandering across the Mediterranean. This, even if true, would not alter the central question which is and must remain simply: whether Homer did or did not succeed in breathing into Ulysses' nostrils the breath of life. In a work of art, the facts, in the historical sense, are not important. This is the danger of attempting to apply the processes of history to the study of literature. This danger occasionally lurks in the statements of Professor Lowes, as when he tells us in conclusion that:

> The imagination never operates in a vacuum. Its stuff is always fact of some order, somehow experienced; its product is that fact transmuted.

The word "fact" is the crux of the whole matter. In the ordinary sense, a centaur is not a fact at all; neither is an Homeric god, nor Ulysses, nor Milton's Satan, nor the ghost of Hamlet's father. They are themselves figments of the imagination, at times of folk imagination. Perhaps it is not even a fact, historically, that Hamlet was Prince of Denmark, or Lear, King of Britain. In Cervantes, Don Quixote tilts at windmills. They were possibly suggested to Cervantes by some particular windmill in La Mancha. Later scholars may possibly identify it and discover what artisans laid its stones and shaped its sails. This, however, as Unamuno contends, will not invest those windmills with reality, for the important thing is that they are not windmills at all. For Don Quixote, they are giants. The reality of art depends solely upon the validity of its creator's intention and execution. The debate recently carried on in Spain between philosopher, novelist and scholar on what constitutes "realism" has added new impetus to the discussion of this old question. It is the dangerous use of the word "fact" in Professor Lowes' admirable volume that makes this discussion so interesting, and so interminable.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

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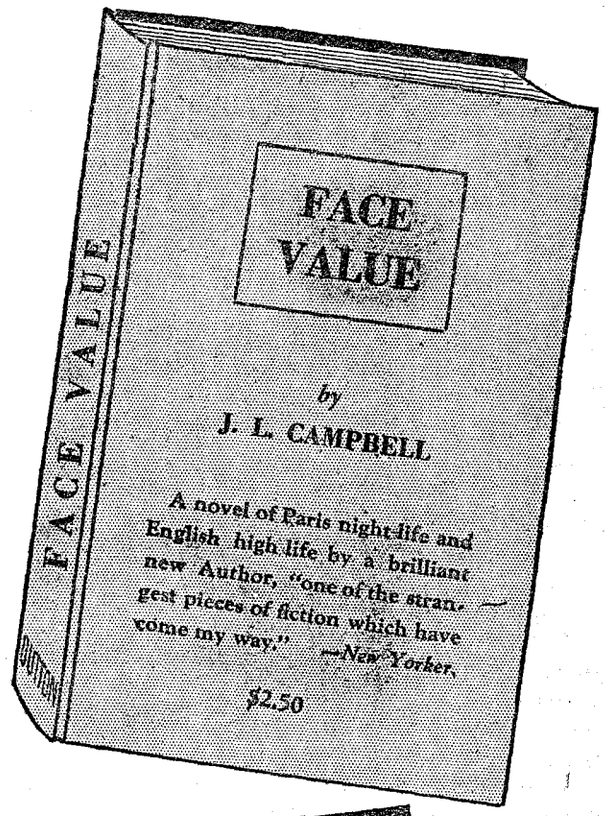
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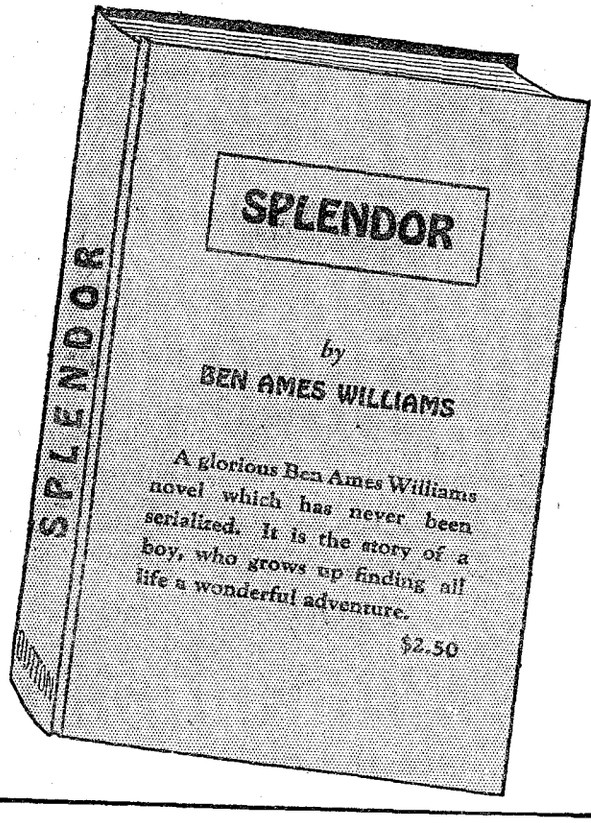
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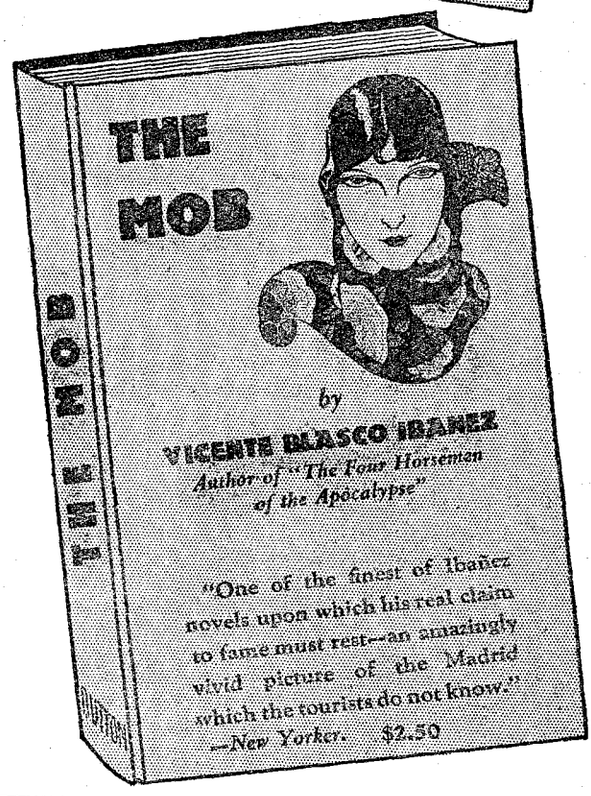
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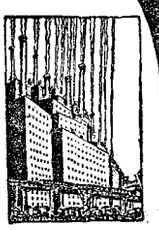

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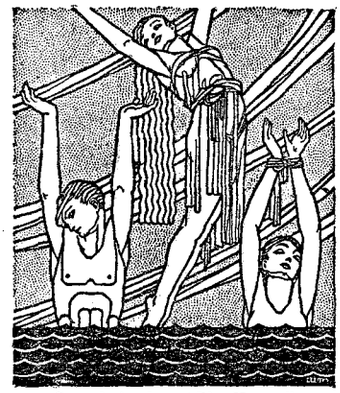

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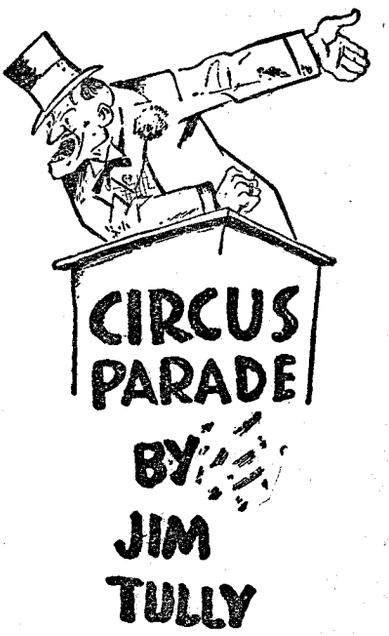

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